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Additions and Corrections,

BY WAY OF

SUPPLEMENT,

TO THE

Itinerarium Septentrionale:

Containing Several

DISSERTATIONS on, and DESC[illegible]

OF

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES

DISCOVERED

In *SCOTLAND*, since the publishing the said Itinerary

TOGETHER

WITH

OBSERV[illegible]

ON SOME

ANCIENT [illegible] ENTS

In the

NORTH of ENGLAND.

Never before Publish'd.

By ALEX. GORDON, A. M.

LONDON:

Printed for A. VANDENHOECK and Comp. at [illegible] in the Strand: And Sold also by Mr. INNYS and Mr. [illegible] at the West-End of St. Paul's; and Mr. DAV[illegible] in Cornhill; and Mr. [illegible] at Temple-Bar. 1732.

To the HONOURABLE

JAMES MAKRAE, Esq;

Late Governor of FORT St. GEORGE.

SIR,

THE many Favours I have received from you, when I was honour'd with your Acquaintance Abroad, and the Continuance of them at Home, oblige me to take the first Opportunity of declaring to the World, how much I am indebted to your Friendship.

The Remains of Antiquity I am describing, are such as illustrate the History of the noblest and most successful Resistance of any to the Violence of the Usurping

Romans; their Deſcription may therefore be worthy of your Acceptance, more, indeed, from the Dignity of the Subject treated, than the Manner of deſcribing them. The Bravery of our Heroic Anceſtors againſt thoſe whom *Tacitus* calls *Raptores Orbis*, The *Plunderers of the World*, has too near a Reſemblance to your own, not to affect you; ſince the ſame Man who defended the *Caſſandra* with ſo much Reſolution, againſt Pyrates of a ſtill worſe Nature, muſt with equal Courage have defended his Country, had he lived in thoſe Days.

Accept therefore theſe Papers, not as any Retribution for the many Favours receiv'd, but as a ſincere Acknowledgement of a grateful Heart. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble, and

moſt obliged Servant,

Alex. Gordon.

THE

PREFACE.

SOME *Lovers of Antiquity in* Holland *being now printing a* Latin *Edition of my* Itinerarium Septentrionale, *were deſirous to know, at the Time they began the ſaid Work, if I could tranſmit to them any Additions and Corrections for the Original in* Engliſh: *This made me recollect, that in a Journey into* Scotland, *about a Year and a half after I had publiſhed the ſaid* Itinerary, *I had ſeen, and drawn ſome few Monuments of Antiquities dug up while I was there on* Antoninus's *Wall: Accordingly, I immediately ſet about to conſider the Nature and Deſign of thoſe Monuments, of which, till now, never any Account had been given to the Publick. What I have been able to conjecture about them, the Reader will ſee in peruſing the Sequel; and of thoſe other Remains of* Roman *Antiquity found ſince at the ſame Place: the Accounts of which, and their Draughts, were ſent hither from* Scotland.

I have alſo ventur'd to give my Obſervations on ſome other Pieces of Antiquity found in the North of England, *and now preſerv'd in the Library of* Durham, *which, for Curioſity, ſeem to equal whatever of that Kind has been found in our Iſland, particularly as they illuſtrate Facts, which would have been otherwiſe quite loſt to the World; likewiſe, as they relate them as done at a Time when the Cotemporary Hiſtorians of the Reign wherein the Inſcriptions were engraven, are, in a manner, quite*

ſilent

ſilent about the Affairs of Britain. *I own, with regard to the latter, that in the* Philoſophical Tranſactions, *there are more than one Diſſertation printed, as I have ſhewn in the following Pages, ſome of which are extremely probable; tho' in others, the Reader will perceive there is Room left for a different Sentiment. However, I muſt ſubmit what I have advanc'd to the Judgment of the Publick, and ſhall be glad to be ſet to rights in the Particulars wherein I may be miſtaken.*

The Reader will alſo perceive, that I have been greatly favour'd with the Obſervations of a Learned Gentleman concerning ſome other Roman *Antiquities found lately near* Middleby, *a* Roman *Station, mention'd in my* Itinerary, *in the Stewarty of* Annandale, *and which are moſt ſingular in their Kind, and were tranſmitted hither from Sir* John Clark, *Baron of the* Exchequer *in* Scotland, *in whoſe Cuſtody they are, and whoſe Care for preſerving the Monuments, and promoting the Study of Antiquity is ſcarcely to be parallel'd.*

For ſuch Emendations and Corrections of my Itinerary *as are added in this Supplement, I acknowledge myſelf moſtly oblig'd to my learned Patron* Roger Gale, *Eſq; whom I ſhall have the Honour frequently to mention in the few following Sheets, as I've already done in my* Itinerary; *which Corrections I have printed with little or no Variation. And as I have had the good Fortune to find Materials for compiling the following Supplement, deſign'd at firſt to be only added to the* Latin *Edition, now printing Abroad, I thought I could not act juſtly with thoſe here in* Britain, *who at firſt did me the Honour to ſubſcribe to, and encourage the Publication of my* Itinerary, *if I did not add to the Original in* Engliſh, *what the Editors Abroad are about to do to the Tranſlation; I have therefore printed this on the ſame Paper, and with the ſame Letter, and of the ſame Size with that, that ſo it may be bound up with it.*

A SHORT

A SHORT

DISSERTATION

ON SOME

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES,

FOUND AT

SCHERVY upon ANTONINUS's WALL in *SCOTLAND.*

CONTAINING SOME

ADDITIONS to the *Itinerarium Septentrionale.*

NOTWITHSTANDING that when I wrote my *Itinerarium*, I mention'd the Village *Schervy*, Page 54, in the *Engliſh* Edition, as a Place on the Wall lying between the two Forts of *Achendevy* and the *Bar-hill*; the firſt of which I call'd the Seventh, the other the Eighth Fort; yet by the Remains I found there ſince, I perceive, it not only has been a Station, but one of the moſt conſiderable among them, and poſſeſſed by the *Romans* both in the Times of the higher and lower Empires, as will plainly appear by the following Antiquities and Inſcriptions I found there.

When I was laſt in thoſe weſterly Parts of *Scotland*, taking a Survey of the Ground between *Forth* and *Clyd*, in order to demonſtrate by a Geometrical Plan, how eaſily a Canal might be made between the Eaſt and Weſt Seas of *Britain*, through that *Iſthmus*, for navigating Veſſels; I learn'd, that ſome Country People at *Schervy* had dug up Stones with Letters upon them, tho' none could tell then what they were: On which I immediately went to the Place, and drew them on the Spot: The firſt was a ſquare Stone, whereon was engraven, in moſt beautiful Letters, this Inſcription, VEX. LEG. II. AVG. *viz. Vexillatio Legionis Secundæ Auguſtæ:* Which ſhews, that a Detachment of the Second Legion *Auguſta* lay at that Place; and the Beauty of the Letters and Ornaments carv'd on the Stone, ſhew it to be of the higher Empire, and moſt probably in the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*; ſince all the other Stones found on that Wall, with the Name of the ſecond Legion *Auguſta*, are of the ſame beautiful Workmanſhip.

That all of them were engraven in *Antoninus Pius*'s Time is plain, ſince moſt of thoſe Inſcriptions mention him by his Imperial Titles, particularly the ſecond Legion *Auguſta*, which not only dedicates ſeveral of thoſe Monuments to the ſame Emperor, but one alſo to *Quintus Lollius Urbicus* his Proprætor; as may be ſeen, *Itin. Sept.* Pl. XI. Fig. II.

As to this Stone lately found, tho' much defac'd by the Ignorance and Careleſſneſs of the Country People in the digging, yet I have annex'd an exact Draught of it: *See Fig.* I. *Plate* LXVI.

I alſo found here three other Remains of Antiquity, but all of them of the lower Empire, as appears by the Form of the Characters, much inferior in Beauty to thoſe of the Inſcriptions erected by the ſecond Legion *Auguſta*; two of thoſe laſt are Sepulchral Monuments, and dedicated to *Dii Manes*; on that which is moſt intire, are, firſt, the Letters DM, then SALMA. VIX. ANN. XV. SALMANES. POSVIT; which may be read, *Diis Manibus Salmanes vixit Annos Quindecim Salmanes, poſuit.*

Who this *Salmanes* was, is now uncertain, nor do I think his Name is to be found in any of the Claſſic Authors who wrote then.

The other Inſcription is alſo dedicated to the *Dii Manes*, with the Letters, *VEREO*; but as the Stone has been broke, and the other Part of the Inſcription not yet diſcover'd, I can't ſay any thing more about it at preſent. *See both theſe Stones and Inſcriptions, Fig.* II, *and* III. The firſt three Foot ten Inches long, one Foot ſeven Inches broad: *Fig.* III, two Foot long, one Foot ſeven Inches broad.

There was alſo dug up at the ſame Place a Stone, on which was engraven the Figure of a *Roman* Centinel, ſtanding with his *Haſta* in his right Hand, and in his left ſomething, but what I can't tell: There is ſomething pretty ſingular in his Dreſs, having an upper Garment, with two Pendents, like a Lining of Furs, down to his Knees; what he wears on his Head is like a *Pannonian* Cap. This, as I drew it correctly on the Spot, *ſee Fig.* IV. It is about two Foot two Inches long, and one Foot ſeven Inches broad. *Fig.* V. repreſents the under Part of a Pillar, which I found there alſo.

What has already been treated in part of this Work, will make it appear to the Reader not ſtrange to find in the ſame Fort, Stones with Inſcriptions both of the higher and lower Empires; ſince, when *Lollius Urbicus* firſt built the Wall, it was unqueſtionably in the Time of the higher Empire, when Arts and Politeneſs were at no ſmall Height among the *Romans*; but when that Wall was rebuilt in *Honorius*'s Time, as has been minutely related already *, not only Arts and Politeneſs were greatly ſunk, but even the Glory and Power of the Empire; and to confirm it, the literal Characters of the Monuments of that Age, whether Inſcriptions, or on Medals, are all of a rude Taſte.

That at *Schervy* there was a *Roman* Fort on the Wall, is now, ſince the above-mention'd Antiquities have been found there, very certain, and, in my humble Opinion, a very conſpicuous one too, if we conſider an Inſcription, which I am inform'd has been dug up ſince I was there; for, in a Letter which the Reverend Mr. *Robe*, Miniſter of *Kilſyth*, wrote to our famous Mathematical Profeſſor, Mr. *Maclaurin*, he deſcribes an Inſcription dedicated to the *Dii Manes*, found at *Schervy*, which mentions one *Flavius Lucianus*, a Soldier of the ſecond Legion *Auguſta*; a Sketch of which, by way of Draught, he tranſmitted to him, together with an Account in the ſame Letter, of a Burying-place containing ſome very curious Antiquities: And as this Letter of Mr. *Robe* was ſent to *London* to be peruſed by *Martin Folks* Eſq; that learned and honourable Gentleman was pleas'd to ſend it to me. The Draught I copy'd; (*See Fig.* VI.) The Words in the Letter to Mr. *Maclaurin* were theſe:

* *See the* Itinerary, *P. CXI.*

SIR,

SIR,

" AS to the *Roman Tumulus* diſcover'd in Mr. *Cathen* of *Schervy*'s " Ground, it was found by ſome illiterate Country People digging " Stones for a Park-Wall; what is found, lies from Weſt to Eaſt: Upon " the Weſt-ſide lies an exact half Round, each End of the Diameter " running out to the Eaſt in a Wall built of about ſeven or eight Courſes " of hewn Stones, many of them of rais'd Diamond-work.

" There are ſeveral Pillars, but how or where ſituated is not known; " and ſome Pedeſtals with a ſquare Hole in the Top very well cut: Upon " the Wall on the South-ſide near the Bottom, was found a large Stone " with the Image of a Man carv'd upon it, leaning on his left Arm, a " *Roman Toga* covering him to the Feet, and ſeem'd to be ty'd with " a Belt over the left Shoulder, his Tunic appearing to his Middle; " there is the Figure of a Dog ſtanding on his Gown, with his Tail " erected; all is admirably well carv'd. Before this Stone was another, " covering the Image cloſe to it; upon the North-Wall, oppoſite to " the carv'd Stone was another Stone, much the ſame Dimenſions, with " a Man carv'd upon it alſo, with a Quadruped towards his Back where " he reclines, but of what kind I know not, the Head being much " broke; a little farther, a large Whin-ſtone, croſſing from one Wall " to the other like a Lintel, five Feet and a half long; ſo I reckon the " Diſtance between the two Walls might be four Feet and a half: There " was a good deal of Aſhes found, and a Piece of an Urn; there was alſo " a Stone with this Inſcription, *Flavius Lucianus, Miles, Leg. ſecundæ Aug.* " in *Roman* Letters and Figures; there are alſo other Stones, whereof " only Parts are found, having D. M. for *Diis Manibus*; but the re- " maining Parts are not yet found; I judge only a Part of this Burying- " place is found, ſo that the Maſters of the Univerſity of *Glaſgow* have a " Deſign to cauſe dig this Ground after Harveſt. The Whole was in the " *Foſſa*, cloſe by the Wall; the Faces of both carv'd Stones looked " North: And upon the North-ſide, four or five Years ſince, there was " found a Stone, among ſeveral others, with *Simanes poſuit Simani.* It " would be doing more than I ſhould, to give you any Conjectures about " it. If in any thing I can ſerve you, ſhall be very glad to know " wherein. I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

What Mr. *Robe* mentions about a Stone being found four or five Years ſince, with an Inſcription thus, *Simanes poſuit Simani*, he muſt allude, I imagine, to the Time I was laſt there myſelf, and the Antiquities I then found, it being ſomewhat more than four Years ſince I was at *Schervy*; but I am apt to think he either did not ſee the Inſcription he mentions, or if he did, he miſtakes the Legend of it, reading *Simanes* for *Salmanes*; but this will beſt appear by the Reader's peruſing the true Draught of the Monument itſelf, already referr'd to, *Fig.* II. I own it ſeems of ſmall Importance to either Learning or Hiſtory, whether the Name on the Monument was *Simanes* or *Salmanes*, ſince all that it imports is, that *Salmanes*, probably the Father of the Deceaſed, bury'd his Son *Salmanes*, a Youth of fifteen Years of Age, there; which ſepulchral Monument he dedicated to the *Dii Manes*: But, indeed, the Evidence of its being of the lower Empire, as appears by the Form of the Letters, is very curious, inſo-

much,

much, that it ſhews that the *Romans*, from the Time of *Antoninus Pius*, (when the ſecond Legion *Auguſta* lay at *Schervy*, and on the Wall, under the Proprætorſhip of *Lollius Urbicus*) never had (even in the Time of the lower Empire) conquer'd farther than that Wall, nor then deſiſted from keeping Guard there, to hinder the *Roman* Province from being invaded by the *Scots* and *Picts*; for the Diſtinction of *Scoti* and *Picti* in the Time of the lower Empire was known; ſo that when we find in that of the higher Empire, that the *Romans* had Gariſons there, and the ſecond Legion *Auguſta* erected Monuments in Honour of their building that Wall: and that probably 110, or 115 Years afterward, the *Romans* ſtill poſſeſs'd the ſame Wall, and liv'd there, 'tis a plain Evidence that they had no Poſſeſſion of the Countries to the Northward of it; for if they had, there would have been no Occaſion for any Wall at all: But it appears, that the Ground near the Wall was held ſacred, even in the Times of the higher as well as lower Empires, as being within the *Roman* Province; for which Reaſon, they imagin'd they could bury their Dead no where with more Safety than on the Inſide of the ſame Wall, which was a *Prætentura* or Fence againſt the Northerly Invaſions of their Enemies, and was at the Extremity of the *Roman* Empire: That this is Fact, not only does it appear by the Inſcription mention'd in Mr. *Robe*'s Letter, erected by the ſecond Legion *Auguſta*, to *Flavius Lucianus* in *Antoninus Pius*'s Time, but alſo by the other in the lower Empire to *Salmanes*: And it it is evident beſides, that the ſame Forts erected in the Time of the higher, ſerv'd for thoſe in the lower Empire alſo; and, indeed, as I have already hinted, the *Romans* had no Settlement in *Britain* to the Northward of that Wall; ſo confirms not only what the *Scots* aſſert themſelves, with regard to their not having been conquer'd, but alſo what the Writers of thoſe Times, namely, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Zoſimus*, and others relate, and in which they do unanimouſly agree.

If I may be allow'd to give my Opinion about what Time of the lower Empire this ſepulchral Monument of *Salmanes* was erected, I humbly think, from the Form of the Letters, it probably may have been about the Time of *Gordianus Junior*, *Anno Chriſti* 242. For after him, the *Britons* in *Gallienus*'s Reign revolted, and not very long after, *viz.* *Anno* 311, in *Conſtantine the Great*'s Time, that Emperor and his Army were probably Chriſtians, and therefore no Dedication to the *Dii Manes* were in uſe. The Monument mention'd in Mr. *Robe*'s Letter, with the Inſcription, *Flavius Lucianus*, *Miles*, *ſecundæ Legionis Auguſtæ*; this, and another, which I found at the ſame Place of *Schervy*, afford me an Opportunity to mention here what I could not when I publiſh'd my *Engliſh* Edition of the *Itinerarium*, and I hope will not be unacceptable to the Curious in Antiquity.

After the Publication of my *Roman* Antiquities in *Scotland*, that moſt worthy and learned Antiquary *Roger Gale*, Eſq; took Occaſion, from the Inſcriptions exhibited therein, to imagine, (and, indeed, very plauſibly) that whereas in all the Inſcriptions found on the *Roman* Wall in *Scotland* where Mention is made of building the *Vallum* for ſo many Paces, no intire Legion is ſaid to have done it, but only a *Vexillatio* or Detachment; though, on the contrary, on all the Monuments where the Name of the ſecond Legion *Auguſta* is mention'd, never had any Inſcription been ſeen with the Word *Vexillatio* or Detachment engraven upon it; which made that Gentleman, as well as myſelf, conclude then, that the whole ſecond Legion *Auguſta* lay quarter'd upon the Wall, and had the chief, if not the ſole Care of erecting that magnificent military Fence,

Fence, eſpecially ſince we find Inſcriptions engraven in honour of the ſecond Legion *Auguſta*, with only the Words, *Legio ſecunda Auguſta Fecit*; which, as it expreſſes nothing elſe, and is found on the Wall, might, with ſome Probability, have been underſtood, *Vallum Fecit.* Which Inſcription is referr'd to already in the Body of this Work, *Plate* XII. *Fig.* I. And another, *Plate* X. *Fig.* VII. has *Legio ſecunda Auguſta Fecit*; and on the Ornaments with Initial Letters, *Jovi Victori Sacrum:* On others of the ſame ſecond Legion *Auguſta*, we find mention is made for how many Miles and Paces they carry'd on the Work of the *Vallum*, but not one Word of a *Vexillatio* or Detachment; as may be ſeen, *Plate* X. *Fig.* I. and II. *Plate* XI. *Fig.* II. From all which, as I ſay, no *Vexillatio* is mention'd; one might very well imagine therefore that the Inſcriptions denote, in a manner, that what was done by the ſecond Legion, as done by the Whole; and that the Legion *Valens Victrix*, *Plate* XII. *Fig.* II. *Sexta Victrix*, *Plate* XI. *Fig.* I. and the *Cohors*, or *Legio Cugernorum*, *Plate* XII. *Fig.* III. had only ſent *Vexillationes* or Detachments to aſſiſt the ſecond Legion in building that Wall; all which, from the Obſervation of the learned Gentleman I mention'd, would have made me conclude abſolutely, that it was ſo in fact, had I not (as I have ſhewn in my late Diſcovery at *Schervy*) found the Words *Vexillatio Legionis ſecundæ Auguſtæ* on a Stone there, referr'd to in the 66th Plate annex'd to this Work, *Fig.* I. which is not only ſingular in its kind, but demonſtrates, that a Detachment of the ſecond Legion was there, doubtleſs, in aſſiſting to make the *Vallum* as well as the other Legions. Hence, I may, I think not without Reaſon, conjecture, that every one of thoſe Legions, of which Detachments were ſent to build the Wall, were, probably, in, or contiguous to the Country where the Wall itſelf was building; conſequently that the *Roman* Forces in *Caledonia* warring againſt the Northerly Inhabitants there, were much greater than one ſingle Legion, and ſome Detachments from others: and that the twentieth Legion *Valens Victrix*, the *Sexta Victrix*, that of the *Cugerni* as well as the ſecond *Auguſta*, were employ'd in *Antoninus Pius*'s Time againſt thoſe Northerly People, who not very long after that Time were by the *Roman* Authors call'd *Scoti* and *Picti.*

I own the ſecond Legion *Auguſta* had the greateſt Share of the Work of any in building the Wall or *Vallum*; for caſting up the Sum of the whole Number of Paces which they extended it, as mention'd by the Inſcriptions, it amounts to 10,603 Paces, which is above 10 Miles and a half long, and the Wall itſelf was only 39 *Roman* Miles, and 969 Paces in Length: Now the twentieth Legion *Valens Victrix* carry'd on the Work of the *Vallum* only for 7 Miles and 411 Paces; that of the *Cugerni* 3 Miles; and the *Sexta Victrix* 7 Miles and 806 Paces: So that the ſecond Legion *Auguſta* extended, or made as much of the *Vallum* as the other Legions put together, except for 7 Miles and 614 Paces. And I am perſuaded, that were all the Inſcriptions that originally were engraven relating to the Wall recover'd, we might have a fair Chance not only of finding others with the Words *Vexillatio Legionis ſecundæ* upon it, as well as that which I diſcover'd at *Schervy*; but more ſtill, ſhewing that the ſecond Legion carry'd on the Work of that *Vallum* for a conſiderable Number of more Paces than what has yet been found and preſerv'd; ſo that we have Reaſon to conclude, that that Legion, as I have ſaid already, had the greateſt Hand of any in performing that noble military Fence; the like of which in *England*, was called the greateſt Glory of all *Septimimus Severus*'s Reign, *Maximum ejus Imperii decus*: tho' the Honour of finiſhing the Work of the

Vallum is not aſcrib'd to the ſecond Legion, but to the ſixth *Victrix*, where in *Plate* IX. *Fig.* II. 'tis expreſs'd *Perfecit Opus Valli*, perfected the Work of the *Vallum:* And this, I think, is as great an Honour as any *Roman* Legion in *Britain* could pretend to, and, as I have ſaid, of which the ſecond Legion could not boaſt.

Being now to conclude my Obſervations about the Antiquities Lately found at *Schervy* on the Wall in *Scotland*, and having thereby a freſh Opportunity of venturing my Thoughts on thoſe Matters to the Publick, and of correcting what I think are, and have been judg'd real Faults in what I have publiſh'd, at the ſame time in anſwering an Objection that ſome Criticks have found to an Aſſertion in the ſaid *Itinerary*; namely, that in treating about the *Romans* making War againſt the Northerly People beyond the Wall, I call theſe laſt, even in *Hadrian*, *Antoninus Pius* and *Severus*'s Times, *Scots* and *Picts*, tho' then no *Roman* nor *Claſſic* Author mentions them by that Appellation, ſince the Names by which they call them are either *Britanni*, *Britones*, *Meatæ*, *& Caledonii*, &c. In anſwer to which I own, it would have been an unpardonable Fault in me to have called them *Scots* and *Picts*, if it ever could have been prov'd that they were a different Nation from thoſe whom afterwards the *Roman* Authors themſelves do call *Scoti* and *Picti*; for notwithſtanding 'tis aſſerted, yet I am humbly of Opinion, that it never has been prov'd, that the Northerly Nations, who fought with the *Romans*, even in the loweſt Times of the Empire, were a different People from the old *Incolæ* or Poſſeſſors of *Britain*, whom *Tacitus* ſays, were * *In ipſis Penetralibus Britanniæ Siti*; that is, Inhabitants within the very Bowels of *Britain:* I ſay, it never has been prov'd otherwiſe, notwithſtanding what that very ingenious and learned Author Mr. *Innes* has lately aſſerted about the *Scots*, in his Book Intitled, *An Eſſay on the ancient Inhabitants of* Scotland: And tho' I grant, that that learned Performance is excellent in very many Particulars, yet I am hopeful, that when good Providence ſhall give me Leiſure from the Vocation that I am forc'd to be in at preſent, I ſhall humbly be able to demonſtrate, that the pretended Migration of the *Scotiſh* Nation from *Ireland*, at any time, (more eſpecially about the Time of the coming in of the *Saxons*, or in the Year 503 of *Chriſt*, as the Biſhops *Stillingfleet* and *Lloyd* aſſert) is a Chymera of their own Invention, and an Hypotheſis without any Foundation: So that the *Scots* ought not (without better Evidence than what has been ſhewn to the contrary) ever to give up that juſt Pretence which they have, of being the Offspring of thoſe very Heroes and real Inhabitants of *Britain*, whom the *Romans* never could conquer; and who, unmix'd with any other Nation, the *Picts* excepted, never ſuffer'd their Liberties to be wreſted by Force out of their Hands. But to return to the Word *Pict* and *Scot*; I own, if we have an Eye ſolely on the *Roman* Writers, it is abſurd to call the Northerly Nation beyond the Wall, *Scots* and *Picts* in *Hadrian* and *Severus*'s Times, becauſe the *Roman* Writers mention them then by another Name; but ſome ſmall Deference, methinks, ought ſtill to be had to *Buchanan* and the other Hiſtorians of the *Scotiſh* Nation, who unanimouſly call them *Scots* and *Picts*, and that long before the *Romans* ever built any Wall in *Britain*. But ſtill allowing no manner of Weight to be in what the *Scotiſh* Hiſtorians write on that Head, if it be abſurd in me to call the People, againſt whoſe Irruptions the *Romans* made Walls, *Scots* and *Picts*, it is equally abſurd in our beſt *Engliſh* Antiqua-

* Tacit. Vit. Agricol.

ries,

ries, to call the Walls made in *Hadrian* and *Severus*'s Times, the *Picts* Wall, ſince, according to them, there were no *Scots* and *Picts* then; and yet *Cæſar*, at the Time of his invading *Britain*, obſerves a painted Nation among the Inhabitants there; ſo that according to him, there were *Picts* in our Iſland, and I am very apt to think thoſe of the Northerly Parts of *Britain* were the ſame with thoſe painted People of the South; for that Name they certainly had from the Romans, *Picti* being a *Roman* Word; nay, more than that, from the Time that *Severus* built his Wall, there is but an Interval of 140 Years until the *Roman* Writers themſelves call thoſe, againſt whom the Walls were reared, *Picti* and *Scoti*; and certain I am, by whatever Means they both obtain'd the Name of *Picts* and *Scots*, neither of them were new People brought into *Britain* in that Interval: and, indeed, if it be an Error in me to call the Northerly Inhabitants beyond the Wall *Scots* and *Picts* in the Time of the higher Empire, it is equally as great a one to ſay, the *Romans* built a Wall in *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, ſince in the *Roman* Days there were no ſuch Counties, nor any ſuch Names as *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*; and yet I find no Criticiſm has been made on the Authors who expreſs it ſo in their Writings; but, for my Part, when I mention'd *Scots* and *Picts* in *Hadrian* and *Severus*'s Times, it was, I own, chiefly with a View the better to accommodate the Idea of the Whole to thoſe who are not converſant with the ancient Diviſions of the Countries in *Britain* in the *Roman* Times, and the Diſtinctions and Denominations among them in thoſe Ages.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS

ON SOME

ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS

UPON

Two Ancient STONES found at *LANCHESTER*,

AND

Now in the LIBRARY of *DURHAM.*

HAVING treated of thoſe few Antiquities I found in the Journey I made into *Scotland*, after the publiſhing my *Itinerary*, and of thoſe communicated to me ſince by others, I think it proper to ſubjoin a brief Account of two I likewiſe met with, in my Return to *England*, in the Library of *Durham*, which I either had not look'd upon, or with very little Attention when there before, but which, on a ſecond Peruſal, I think, deſerved Conſideration: However, before I enter on deſcribing them, 'tis neceſſary to premiſe, that in my *Itinerary*, p. 105, ſpeaking of the *Romans* in *Britain*, after the Death of *Septimius Severus* and his Son *Caracalla*, who ſucceeded him in the Government there, I ſaid, that "After this "Time, neither *Dio*, nor *Herodian*, nor any other *Roman* Writer, men- "tion any Thing concerning *Britain* in the ſucceeding Reigns of "*Macrinus*, *Heliogabalus*, *Alexander Severus*, *Maximinus*, and *Gordi-* "*anus*; only that *Camden* makes mention of a *Roman* Stone found in "*England*, with the Name of *Nonius Philippus*, Proprætor in *Britain* "in *Gordianus* Junior's Time, being about *Anno Chriſti* 242.

'Tis true, no *Roman* Writer mentions any thing concerning *Britain* in thoſe ſucceeding Reigns, except, I think, what ſmall Accounts are hinted at in my *Itinerary*; yet the Inſcriptions I have juſt now ſpoke of, ſupply that Want, and relate Facts which without ſuch Evidences would have been bury'd in Oblivion, and have been a very great Loſs to the Curious and Learned in Antiquity. Both theſe Inſcriptions relate to the Reign of *Gordianus*, where, in one of them, mention is made of that Emperor having cauſed a Bagnio and *Baſilica* to be erected from the very Ground, while *Cneius Lucilianus* was his Proprætor in *Britain*, under the Care and Inſpection of *Marcus Aurelius Quirinus*, Præfect of a Cohort of the Legion *Gordiana*: The other is, about the ſame Emperor having rebuilt a Military Tribunal, call'd *Principia*, which had fall'n down; as alſo

Arma-

Armamentaria or Arſenals, while *Maecilius Fuſcus* was his Proprætor under the Care of the foreſaid *Marcus Aurelius Quirinas*.

On peruſing theſe Monuments a few Years ago, I was at a Loſs to know whether they had ever been publiſh'd: But Doctor *Hunter* of *Durham* told me, That *Camden* had never made any Mention of them, (having been dug up ſince his Time) only that he himſelf had ſome Years before tranſmitted a Copy of the Inſcription of the firſt to Dr. *Liſter*, which refers to the building the Bathing-place and the *Baſilica*, but that an accurate Drawing of it had not been taken; and that, tho' it had been added in a *Latin* Edition of *Camden*'s *Britannia*, Printed *Anno* 1722, yet that the very Legend had been, in ſome Particulars, falſely printed, and the Dimenſions of it never deſcribed, nor the Form rightly exhibited: Alſo that the other relating to the Repairing the *Principia* and *Armamentaria* had, till then, never been publiſh'd by any one: And upon this, I was encouraged to take on the Spot as accurate a Draught of them both as I poſſibly could; and for a View of which, and their Dimenſions, I refer the Reader to *Plate* LXVII. *Fig.* I. and II.

Notwithſtanding this Account given me by Dr. *Hunter*, which was perfectly right then, yet ſome conſiderable Time after, peruſing the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, I perceiv'd both theſe Inſcriptions had not only been printed, but commented on: The firſt that mentions the *Balneum cum Baſilica*, the Legend alone of it was (as I have ſaid) ſent up to Dr. *Liſter* in a Letter to him, with few or no Remarks upon it, I mean the Inſcription not being explain'd; as may be ſeen in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, N°. 266. But after this, N°. 354, p. 701. we find, in the ſame *Tranſaction*, a Tranſcript of a Letter of Dr. *Hunter* to Dr. *Woodward* from *Durham*, giving an Account of another Stone with a *Roman* Inſcription, found two Years before that at *Lancheſter*, where the former, ſent to Dr. *Liſter*, had been dug up in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*; which is the ſame Stone I mention'd relating to the *Principia* and *Armamentaria*, whilſt in the Prætorſhip of *Maecilius Fuſcus*; which Edifices Dr. *Hunter* thinks were originally built by *Julius Agricola*, and fixes the preciſe Time of their Erection to the ſecond Year of that General's Expeditions in *Britain*.

For my part, tho' none has a greater Deference for the Opinion of that learned Gentleman than myſelf; yet, in that Point, of the *Principia* and *Armamentaria* being originally built by *Julius Agricola*; or, that we are to look for it as high as that *Æra*, I muſt humbly beg Leave to differ from him, and to think that the Edifices mention'd to have fallen down, have not been of a much older Date than the *Balneum* and *Baſilica* which *Gordian* at the ſame Place cauſed to be built from the Ground.

But before I enter upon the Proof of this, I ſhall beg Leave to obſerve, that as to the Place where theſe Monuments were found, *viz.* *Lancheſter*, I think, after what *Roger Gale*, Eſq; has, with ſo much true Learning and Judgment, ſaid on that Head, no Man, who has a right Notion of Antiquity, can doubt of its having been the * *Longovicus* mention'd in the *Notitia Imperii*, where the *Numerus Longovicariorum* was ſometime plac'd: Nor is it poſſible, I think, to explain the Inſcription better than that learned Gentleman has done, who has uncontrovertedly eſtabliſh'd the true reading of that at *Fig.* I. *Plate* LXVII, thus:

* See a Diſſertation of *Roger Gale*, Eſq; printed in the *Philoſ. Tranſact.* p. 823. N°. 354.

Imperator Cæſar Marcus Antonius Gordianus
Pius foelix Auguſtus Balneum cum
Baſilica à ſolo inſtruxit.
Per Cneium Lucilianum Legatum Auguſtalem
Proprætorem Curante Marco Aurelio
Quirino Præfecto Cohortis primæ Legionis Gordianæ.

As to the reading part of the laſt Line, *Cohortis primæ Longovicariorum*, I am glad to perceive, that Mr. *Gale* himſelf, *p.* 835, rejects that, and for a very good Reaſon; for, ſays he, "After I had review'd the "Letters at the End of the ſecond Inſcription, which are plainly tran-"ſcrib'd, P. R. CoH. I. L. GOR. I could read them no otherwiſe than "*Præfecto Cohortis primæ Legionis Gordianæ:*" Beſides, that the *Pre* in Line 4 is a Miſtake of the Engravers of that Monument originally for *Per* is a very juſt Conjecture, and muſt, in the Nature of Things, have been ſo.

What regards the ſecond Inſcription, which I have referr'd to, *Fig.* II. there is no Poſſibility of mending Mr. *Gale*'s reading it thus:

Imperator Cæſar Marcus Antonius
Gordianus Pius fœlix Auguſtus
Principia & Armamentaria
Conlapſa reſtituit
Per Maecilium Fuſcum Legatum
Auguſtalem Proprætorem Curante Marco Aurelio
Quirino præfecto Cohortis primæ Legionis Gordianæ.

As to the determining which of the *Gordiani* Emperors it was who cauſed thoſe Edifices to be erected, there is no manner of Doubt, from comparing what the *Roman* Writers relate concerning their Lives; and what Mr. *Gale*, in his elaborate Diſſertation, which I have mention'd, has taken Notice of, but that he was *Gordian* the III[d]. I own, to determine preciſely, whether the Name of this Emperor was *Antoninus* or *Antonius*, could not be eaſily done, without the Help of the Inſcriptions we are treating about, and which even on that Account are valuable, ſince Authors and Commentators have ſtrangely jumbled the Name of *Gordianus Africanus*, whom [a] *Aurelius Victor* calls *Antoninus*, with that of his Nephew *Gordian* the III[d]: Nor do the *Roman* Writers of the Life of that laſt Emperor, determine the Thing, and their Commentators call him ſometimes *Antonius*, at other times *Antoninus*; neither do the Medals of the *Denarii* Size ſettle this, ſince their Legends have it only *Gordianus Pius Aug.* Others, even large Medals and Medalions, only *Cæſar M. ANT. GORDIANVS*; ſo determine not whether *Antonius* or *Antoninus* was his Name. Moſt Part of the Commentators on the [b] *Medalions*, have, generally, his Name *Antonius*, juſt as we find it on the Inſcriptions we are treating about; but [c] *Angeloni* ſpeaks of a Medal of *Gordian* the III[d]. with the Legend thus, *IMP. CAES. M. ANTONINVS GORDIANVS*, &c. And [d] *Triſtan* ſays, *Gordian* the III[d]. had the Names both of *Antonius* and *Antoninus* promiſcuouſly given him, and produces two Inſcriptions, where he is named *Antoninus:* All which Confuſion conſider'd, the Inſcriptions found at *Lancheſter* are the more curious and valuable,

[a] Aurel. Vict. in Gord. Afr. [b] *See* Patarol. Ser. Aug. *p.* 63. *Edit.* 1[mo]. & Mezzabarba, *p.* 336. *See alſo* Ab. de Camp. *p.* 87. [c] Hiſt. Aug. *p.* 242. [d] Triſtan. *p.* 503.

inſomuch,

inſomuch, that they confirm his true Name to have been *Antonius*, and not *Antoninus*; and I am apt to think, the Medals and Inſcriptions produc'd by *Angeloni* and *Triſtan* to the contrary, juſt now mention'd, have had the Name on them only *ANT.* and they themſelves have read it *Antoninus*, without farther Authority.

This *Gordianus*, according to [e] *Petavius*, was, together with *Balbinus* and *Pupienus*, rais'd to the Imperial Dignity *Anno Chriſti* 237. After which, according to [f] *Aurelius Victor*, he reigned ſix Years. [g] *Eutropius* certainly miſtakes, in calling him the Son of *Gordianus Africanus*, ſince 'tis certain, *Antoninus Gordianus*, call'd *Africanus*, together with his Son, were ſlain by *Capelianus*, *Maximinus*'s General, in *Africa*, about a Year and ſix Months (ſome Authors ſay leſs) after they had aſſum'd the Imperial Dignity. What is moſt remarkable in the Life of this Prince *Gordian* the III[d]. is, the excellent Education he had in the Precepts of Virtue and Politeneſs, by means of the learned *Miſitheus*, whoſe Daughter [h] *Tranquillina* he marry'd. Theſe Seeds of Benefaction to Mankind were early ſown into his Mind by that ſage Philoſopher, while he liv'd; ſo that he became the Delight of the good and wiſe Men around his Throne, and was even deify'd [i] after his Death. Among the other Evidences of his virtuous and good Taſte, he is allow'd to have been a Lover of Learning and learned Men; and they compute, that there were in his Library about ſixty-two thouſand Volumes. [k] *Angelone*, in his Commentary on his *Medalion*, ſays, That while *Miſitheus* liv'd, never was Juſtice perverted to any bad Purpoſe; nor did that wiſe Miniſter ſuffer that the Emperor's own Favourites, nor thoſe of his Mother, ſhould ſell Places of Profit, as had in ſeveral preceding Reigns been done; againſt which Miſchief, both the Emperor and the Miniſter, took a ſingular Care to guard. And I muſt ſay, on this Occaſion, that when Princes become Patrons of Learning, 'tis no Wonder to find them following ſuch an Example, and rearing up Monuments of Grandeur and Munificence within their Territories in various Ways and Shapes, as *Gordianus* we find did here in *Britain*, thereby adding Glory to their own Characters, and doing Good to Mankind: Whereas on the contrary, when their Minds are naturally weak and vicious, and at the ſame time have the Misfortune (as often it happens) to have ſenſual Wretches and Flatterers about them, equally vicious with themſelves; in ſuch a Caſe, what a peſtilential Influence do their Adminiſtrations ſpread around them? when all is Voluptuouſneſs, all Senſuality, every thing diſtorted, and every thing unſucceſsful beyond the Bounds of Vice.

But to return to our Inſcriptions: As to the Fabrick of the *Balneum* and *Baſilica*, built from the Ground by *Gordianus* at *Longovicus*; the firſt of theſe are by moſt Authors thought to have been private Bathing-places, and that the [l] *Balneæ* were thoſe erected for publick Uſe; tho' [m] *Julius Capitolinus* ſpeaking of the ſame Emperor, *Gordian* the III[d], having cauſed ſeveral *Balneæ* and *Nymphæa* to be erected in *Rome*, ſays quite differently from what the two modern Authors I have juſt now quoted, aſſert, and poſitively, in the ſame Sentence expreſſes, That the *Balneæ* were private Bagnio's; and ſays, *Sed Balneæ privati hominis fuerunt, ab eo in uſum privatum exornatæ*, &c. Notwithſtanding this

[e] Rat. Temp. *p.* 316. in Gordian. III. [f] Victor. in Gord. Ibi geſto inſigniter bello Marci Philippi Præfecti Prætorio inſidiis periit ſexenno Imperii. [g] Eutrop. in Gord. III. [h] *See this confirm'd by an Inſcription in* Camden's Britannia, *p.* 1015. *Edit. Lond.* 1722. [i] Eutrop. in Gord. *p.* 397. Ipſum divum appellavit, & Capitolinus in Gord. [k] *See* Hiſtoria Auguſta in Gord. III. [l] Vid. Fab. Theſau. & Danet. Diction. [m] Jul. Capit. in Gord. III.

Authority

Authority from a *Roman* Author, yet *Faber* in the ſame *Theſaurus*, produces Paſſages from *Cicero* and *Vitruvius*, to confirm his Aſſertion to the contrary, to which the Reader is referr'd. For my part, I take this *Balneum* not to have been a publick Bathing-place, but ſituated near the *Baſilica* for the Emperor's own Uſe, or his Proprætors in *Britain*, and a kind of Appurtenance to the Royal Palace. This, I rather think, ſince the generality of Authors are againſt the Definition of the *Balneæ* mention'd by *Capitolinus*. As to the Word *Baſilica*, the Reader, in the Sequel ſhall be ſatisfy'd about it.

The other Inſcription, as is ſaid already, mentions the *Principia* and *Armamentaria* which had fallen down, to have been rebuilt by the Beneficence of the ſame *Gordianus*, when *Maecelius Fuſcus* was his Proprætor in *Britain*, and under the Inſpection and Superintendency of *Marcus Aurelius Quirinus*. This Word *Principia*, if I am not miſtaken, is the only one mention'd by any *Roman* Inſcription ever found in *Britain*; the Definition and Uſe of which, will be likewiſe treated of in its due Place.

What now I am to conſider, is, Doctor *Hunter*'s Aſſertion, about this *Principia* and *Armamentaria*, which Structures he calls by the Name of [a] *Fortreſs*, and is of Opinion, that they were originally built by *Julius Agricola*, in the [b] ſecond Year of his Expeditions in *Britain*, in the Reign of *Flavius Veſpaſianus*, about 169 Years before, he ſays, this *Fortreſs* was repair'd by *Gordian* in the 243d Year of *Chriſt*.

For my part, I ſhould not venture to gainſay, in Print, what the Doctor conjectures and aſſerts this Way; yet, in this Caſe, I beg that very worthy and learned Gentleman Pardon, if, in Defence of what I have publiſh'd, and in confirming my ſincere Opinion, I differ from him in that Particular; and if I aſſert, that, in all Probability, either, the *Balneum*, the *Baſilica*, the *Principia* and the *Armamentaria* were all Works of the ſame Emperor originally, and none of them built by any other but *Gordian* the IIId: Or, that if the *Principia* and the *Armamentaria* were originally erected anterior to the Reign of that *Gordianus*, it never could, I humbly think, be in the Time of *Julius Agricola*, but rather in the Reign of *Hadrian*; tho' the firſt of theſe Conjectures is what I am moſt inclinable to believe.

But before I enter on proving what I have now aſſerted, and diſproving the Doctor's Conjectures in the Matter, 'tis, methinks, but ſtrict Juſtice to diſplay in a fair Light all that he has offer'd as an Argument for ſupporting his Opinion therein; nor can I do this, I think, better than by tranſcribing here the Whole of his printed Letter to Dr. *Woodward*, *verbatim*.

Tranſcript of a Letter of Dr. Hunter, *M. D. to Dr.* Woodward, *R. S. S. from* Durham, *giving an Account of a* Roman *Inſcription lately dug up in the North of* England; *with ſome Hiſtorical and Chronological Remarks thereon.*

"THE Inſcription which comes herewith, *Fig.* II. was dug up "two Years ago in the *Roman Caſtrum* near *Lancheſter*: The In- "ſcription is very legible, and gives me Reaſon to hope, a Search after "the firſt fortifying this Place will not be unneceſſary; eſpecially, being "able to fix the Time of *Gordian*'s repairing this Fortreſs, to the 243d

[a] Phil. Tranſ. N°. 354. p. 702.

[b] *Ibid.* p. 702, *and* 703.

"Year

" Year of *Chriſt*. We may reaſonably aſcribe the Foundation to the " prudent Adminiſtration of *Julius Agricola*, in the Reign of *Fl. Veſpaſian*, " about 169 Years before. In Confirmation of this, I find the Particu- " lars very material, and I think it not unbecoming to begin my In- " quiry with *Veſpaſian's* firſt Appearance upon the Theatre of Fame in " *Britain*.

" In the ſecond Year of the Emperor *Claudius*, *Anno Dom.* 44, the " *Romans* invaded *Britain*, under the Command of *Aulus Plautius*; in " which Expedition, *Veſpaſian* [a], then Legate of the Second Legion, " made a glorious Figure, having been engaged in no leſs than thirty " Battles, and reduc'd two powerful Provinces, above twenty Towns, " and the Iſle of *Wight*. All theſe Succeſſes, tho' continu'd with good " Improvements in ſome of the following Years and Governments, could " not frighten the Natives into an active Submiſſion; eſpecially, no Ad- " vance being made into the Country of the *Brigantes*, till the Advance- " ment of *Veſpaſian* to the Imperial Throne about twenty-ſix Years after, " *Anno Dom* 70. Then the whole Empire was deliver'd from the Miſe- " ries of *Nero's*, and the ſhort, but lamentable Devaſtations of the three " following Reigns. *Veſpaſian* then reſolv'd to puſh on his Conqueſts " in *Britain*; choice Armies, commanded by experienc'd Generals, are " ſent over; and the twentieth Legion, having in the preceding Troubles " acted ſeditiouſly, (not without Difficulty) was reduc'd to ſubmit to " *Veſpaſian*, (moſt of the Officers, as well as Soldiers, having been ad- " vanc'd by *Vitellius*). *Julius Agricola* is conſtituted Legate, who, under " the Governor *Petilius Cerealis*, bore a conſiderable Share in the Succeſſes " againſt the *Brigantes* [b]; *Sed primo Cerealis modò labores & diſcrimina*, " *mox & gloriam communicabat: ſæpe parti exercitus in experimentum*, " *aliquando majoribus copiis ex eventu præfecit*. *Tacitus* afterwards in a " few Words ſums up the Whole of *Cerealis* his Acquiſitions [c]; *Terrorem* " *ſtatim intulit Petilius Cerealis*, *Brigantum Civitatem*, *quæ numeroſiſſima* " *Provinciæ totius perhibetur*, *aggreſſus*; *multa prælia*, *& aliquando non in-* " *cruenta*; *magnamque Brigantum partem aut Victoria amplexus*, *aut Bello*. " Notwithſtanding theſe Advantages, I dare not ſuppoſe the *Romans* " to have penetrated ſo far into this Province as our *Longovicum*, " which is ſituated ſo near the Northern Bounds of the *Brigantes*, that, " at preſent, it's not diſtant above twelve Miles from *Corbridge* the *Roman* " *Curia*, the chief Town of the adjoining People the *Otadini*. I now " advance to my principal Motive, (I hope its Length may deſerve " Pardon, being under no Obligation to account for the Government of " *Jul. Frontinus* Succeſſor to *Cerealis*) to fix upon the ſecond Year of " *Julius Agricola's* Government for this Work, which *Tacitus* thus de- " ſcribes; [d] *Sed ubi Æſtas advenit contracto exercitu—loca Caſtris ipſe* " *capere*, *Æſtuaria ac Sylvas ipſe prætentare: & nihil interim apud Hoſtes* " *quietum pati*, *quo minus ſubitis excurſibus popularetur*; *atque ubi ſatis* " *terruerat*, *parcendo rurſus irritamenta Pacis oſtentare*. *Quibus rebus* " *multæ Civitates quæ in illum diem ex æquo egerant datis obſidibus iram poſu-* " *ere*, *& præſidiis Caſtelliſque circumdatæ*, *tanta ratione curaque*, *ut nulla* " *antè Britanniæ nova pars illaceſſita tranſierit*. This excellent Conduct " *Tacitus* farther confirms from the Obſervations of others: *Adnotabant* " *periti non alium ducem opportunitates locorum ſapientius legiſſe*, *nullum ab* " *Agricola poſitum Caſtellum aut vi Hoſtium expugnatum*, *aut pactione*, *aut* " *fuga deſertum*.

[a] Suetonius, Veſpaſian, *Cap.* iv. [b] Tacit. vit. Agric. 8. [c] *Cap.* xvii. [d] *Cap.* xx.

" *Agricola*, this Summer, having quieted ſo large a Tract, and finiſh'd " ſo many Fortreſſes, it cannot be expected all ſhould be built with the " moſt exquiſite Art, ſufficient to perpetuate them. I proceed to *Gordian*'s " Repairs, whoſe Hiſtorian, *Julius Capitolinus*, having never once named " *Britain*, yet giving ſo many Hints of the excellent Oeconomy of his " Government, under the prudent Adminiſtration of his Father-in-Law " *Miſitheus*, I dare not fix this Work till the third Year of his Reign, " he having before been under the Direction of the Eunuchs and Officers " of the Court, whom *Capitolinus* repreſents in *Miſitheus*'s Letter to *Gor-* " *dian*, to have proſtituted all Employments to their own Covetouſneſs " and mercenary Creatures.

Durham, July 5.
1717.

This being Word for Word what is contain'd in the Doctor's Letter, I am apt to think the Reader will be of Opinion, that the Whole (until particular mention is made of *Agricola*'s commanding in chief) is an ingenious Narration collected from *Tacitus* and other *Roman* Authors, of the Bravery and Exploits of *Veſpaſian* in the Expedition made by *Aulus Plautius* in the Reign of the Emperor *Claudius*, and of *Agricola*, while under the Governor *Petilius Cerealis*, as the Doctor ſays, while *Veſpaſian* reign'd, and in their Battles againſt the *Brigantes* : In all which, the Doctor himſelf ſays, " He dares not ſuppoſe the *Romans* to have then penetrated ſo " far into this Province as our *Longovicus* or *Lancheſter*, " where the Inſcriptions we are treating of were found, and where the *Principia* and *Armamentaria* were erected : So that it's plain, that hitherto in his Letter nothing has been advanced as an Argument to prove *Agricola* built thoſe Edifices there ; Nor is he, ſays the Doctor, " under any Obligation " to account for the Government of *Julius Frontinus*, Succeſſor to *Cere-* " *alis* : " So that a Paſſage in *Tacitus*, which he ſubjoins, is the only Proof offer'd for ſupporting his Aſſertion, and it is that juſt now cited in his Letter ; *viz. Sed ubi Æſtas advenit contracto exercitu loca caſtris ipſe capere Æſtuaria ac Sylvas ipſe prætentare & nihil interim apud Hoſtes quietum pati quo minus ſubitis excurſibus popularetur ; atque ubi ſatis terruerat, parcendo rurſus irritamenta pacis oſtentare. Quibus rebus multæ Civitates quæ in illum Diem ex æquo egerunt datis obſidibus iram poſuere, & Præſidiis Caſtelliſque circumdatæ, tanta ratione curaque ut nulla ante Britanniæ nova pars illaceſſita tranſierit.*

This Paſſage being then the only Argument produc'd by the Doctor for making it probable, that *Agricola* built the *Principia* and *Armamentaria* originally at *Longovicus*, I am, I own, at a Loſs to know how, or in what manner it anſwers his Intention ; for, thoſe *Civitates*, Tacitus ſays, which till that Day ſtood out on equal Terms, having given Hoſtages, deſiſted from the immediate Purſuit of War with the *Romans*, and ſuffer'd Gariſons and Caſtles to be made around them ; of which I take the natural Meaning to be, were forc'd to behold their Conquerors, the *Romans*, making Fortifications in their Country, the better to maintain their Conqueſts. But this ſeems to be no Proof of *Agricola*'s erecting a Tribunal for Juſtice, and Arſenals, at *Longovicus* ; more eſpecially, ſince I have, I think, already prov'd in the foregoing Part of my [b] *Itinerarium*,

[a] Philoſ. Tranſact. *p.* 702. [b] *Pag.* 14, 15, 16, & 19.

that the Scene of Action in that ſecond Year's Expedition, mention'd in that Paſſage produc'd by the Doctor, about thoſe *Civitates*, was, I think, in that Part of *Britain* call'd *Scotland*, and on the ſame *Iſthmus* between *Clyd* and *Forth*; which [c] *Tacitus* aſſerts, was fortify'd by *Agricola* with Gariſons and Caſtles; *Nam* (ſays he) *Glota & Bodotria diverſi maris Æſtu per Immenſum revecti Anguſto terrarum ſpatio dirimuntur quod tum præſidiis firmabatur atque omnis propior ſinus tenebatur ſummotis velut in aliam Inſulam Hoſtibus.* But it happens unlucky for the Doctor's Aſſertion, that the Paſſage which he ſingles out of *Tacitus*, namely, [*Multæ Civitates quæ in illum Diem ex æquo egerunt datis obſidibus iram poſuere & Præſidiis Caſtelliſque circumdatæ*, &c.] is mention'd as relating to *Agricola*'s ſecond Summer's March, and ſhews the *Roman* Army in Motion; for *Tacitus* plainly ſays, That *Agricola*, as ſoon as the ſecond Summer of being in *Britain* approached, began to move with his Army forward: In which March, he pitched upon convenient Places for making Camps, certainly with Intention not to be annoy'd in an Enemy's Country: Moreover deſcribes, how he paſs'd the *Firths* and navigable Arms of the Sea; which, by the by, is a plain Evidence, that that ſecond Summer's March was thro' Countries where navigable Arms of the Sea were; none of which, I think, are near *Lancheſter*, in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, which is on the oppoſite Side of *Britain* to where *Mona* or *Angleſy* lies: From whence *Tacitus* ſays he did then march; tho' it's certain, on the other hand, that in going into *Caledonia* or *Scotland*, [which Rout the Text ſays *Agricola* did take] the *Æſtuaria*, or navigable Arms of the Sea; namely, *Dee*, *Ribble*, and the *Solway Firth* do intervene: Beſides, I can't think that *Agricola*, with a moving Army going into *Caledonia*, had Time to build a Tribunal of Juſtice, and an Arſenal of hewen Stones in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*; in which Caſe he behoved to ſtep out of his ſtrait Road almoſt the Breadth of the Iſland, to rear up thoſe Edifices juſt now mention'd; nay, ſo far was *Agricola*'s Army in Motion, that the Text declares in the ſame Paſſage produced by the Doctor, that the Enemy had no Reſt from the haſty Excurſions of the *Romans*: [d] *Nihil interim apud Hoſtes quietem pati, quo minus ſubitis excurſibus popularetur.* Now what ſtill I am to argue from this, is, that Dr. *Hunter*'s pitching upon a Paſſage in *Tacitus*, to prove *Agricola*'s having built the foremention'd Edifices at *Longovicus*, while the *Roman* Army was on its March and in Motion, cannot anſwer, in Reaſon, as a Proof of his Aſſertion, ſince we muſt not ſuppoſe any Stone Buildings made but when the Army was at Reſt, and in their Winter Quarters; nay, that it was ſo in fact, appears expreſly from *Tacitus*'s own Words immediately following, this very Account of the Army's March that ſecond Summer, *Sequens Hiems*, ſays he, *ſaluberrimis conſiliisabſumpta namque ut homines diſperſi ac rudes eoque bello faciles quieti & otio per voluptates aſſueſcerent hortari privatim adjuvare publicè ut Templa, Fora, Domus, extruerent.*

Here, indeed, is a very particular Deſcription of Buildings, nay, of the very Kinds of the Edifices that were reared up, *viz.* Temples, Houſes, and Places for publick Reſort, tho' no *Principia* or *Armamentaria* are at all mention'd; and ſtill, I think, the Doctor might, with much more Plauſibility, have pitch'd upon this Paſſage in *Tacitus*, as an Argument for *Agricola*'s Building the *Principia* and *Armamentaria*, than the other when the *Roman* Army was in Motion; and yet had he made Choice of what I have juſt now mention'd, in order to ſupport his Aſſertion, it

[c] Tacit. Vit. Agric. [d] Tacit. Vit. Agric.

would

would not by any Means have anſwer'd his Intent, ſince I humbly think I have plainly prov'd from the Remains of thoſe Buildings, that they were erected on the *Iſthmus* between *Clyd* and *Forth*, together with the *Præſidia* and Forts mention'd in the ſecond Summer's March. As for the Stone Buildings reared up that ſame Winter, I have ſhewn the Remains of the Temple I call'd *Mars Ultor* or *Arthur's Oven*, which correſponds with *Tacitus*'s Account of the *Templa*; next, as to the *Domus* or Houſes, there is the *Roman* Town, *Camelon*, in Ruins, where, I doubt not, there may have been *Fora* alſo. Now that theſe could not have been made in any other Time than the ſecond Winter that *Agricola* was in *Britain*, ſeems clear by the Text; for the Summer enſuing, *viz.* the third, *Tacitus* relates, That *Agricola*, from his Winter Quarters, went farther into the Country, and diſcover'd new People, waſting as far as the River *Taus*; which I have demonſtratively prov'd to be that navigable Arm of the Sea that divides the Counties of *Fife* and *Angus*. There the Text ſays, he remain'd in Winter Quarters, where he had Time to make *other Forts*, to ſecure the Country around him: *Ponendis in ſuper Caſtellis ſpatium fuit*; but declares, that before this, the *Iſthmus* between *Clyd* and *Forth* was actually gariſon'd and fortify'd; *Quod tum Præſidiis firmabatur.* This being the Caſe, I would gladly know which Way could he have been building Forts between *Clyd* and *Forth*, and at one and the ſame Time a *Principia* and *Armamentaria* at *Longovicus*? It may be ſaid, that, perhaps, he ſent a Detachment of his People thither, to rear up thoſe Structures; but that does not appear from the Text: Beſides, *Tacitus* makes *Agricola* preſent where the Buildings he mentions were erected; ſo that the Paſſage ſingled out by the Doctor, will not anſwer either as to Time or Place, it being plain, that the Scene of Action he quotes, is unqueſtionably, by what has been ſaid, between *Clyd* and *Forth*. Yet ſtill, in order to make this more convincing, I have one Argument to offer, which, I think, reduces it to a Demonſtration; and it is this, by recapitulating a little. *Tacitus* has never fail'd to deſcribe circumſtantially almoſt every Action of *Julius Agricola* in *Britain*, and his Progreſs every Summer and Winter ſucceeding one another there: Firſt, his Defeat of the *Ordovices* or People of North *Wales*; which the Text ſays, was done after the Middle of the firſt Summer: Next, his reducing the Iſland of *Mona* or *Angleſy* in the Autumn; *Quamquam tranſacta Æſtas.* Then the Winter enſuing, we have an Account of his ſettling his domeſtick Affairs, and providing his Army with Forage: Then the Beginning of the Summer following, *viz.* the ſecond, his March farther into the Country and the *Æſtuaria* he paſs'd over, and the Caſtles and Forts he built, which Dr. *Hunter* intimates, were the *Principia* and *Armamentaria* at *Lancheſter*; and I aſſert them, the Gariſons and Caſtles built between *Clyd* and *Forth*. Next, *viz.* the Winter following, his building Temples, Houſes, and Places of publick Reſort, about which Dr. *Hunter* is ſilent, and I have ſhewn by their [f] Ruins, to have been the Temples of *Mars Ultor*, *Camelon*, &c. Then, in the third Year of *Agricola*'s being in *Britain*, we have an Account of his marching his Army as far as the *Firth* of *Tay* in *Scotland*, diſcovering new People in that March, and making Forts within the Country there contiguous. Then his wintering there; the fourth Summer his ſecuring the Countries he had over-run the Year before; after which, the Scene of Action is farther plac'd within *Scotland*, ſometimes in *Galloway*; ſometimes his Fleet

[f] *Vide* Itinerar. *p.* 22 *to* 29.

ſailing

ſailing as far as the *Orcades*: I ſay, about all thoſe Particulars, no Writer whatever can be more minute or circumſtantial in deſcribing, than what *Tacitus* is, either as to Facts, Time, or Place, and is only wanting in determining what we want moſt to know; namely, in what Part of *Britain* thoſe Gariſons and Caſtles made in the ſecond Year of *Agricola*'s Expeditions [and quoted by Dr. *Hunter*] were made. By *Tacitus* not doing which, on his firſt mentioning them, it has occaſion'd Diſpute; and yet I muſt ſay, that notwithſtanding he has not fix'd the *Topography* of them, yet he acquaints us of the Fact, and that the ſecond Summer, Gariſons and Caſtles were made; and very fairly in the Account of his fourth Summer's Actions he recapitulates, and points out the preciſe Spot of Ground on which they were erected, namely, between *Clyd* and *Forth*, in that circumſtantial and ſatisfactory Paſſage; *Nam Glota & Bodotria diverſi Maris Æſtu*, &c. Now I appeal to any unprejudic'd Reader, if from all this *Itinerary* of *Agricola* deſcrib'd by *Tacitus*, he can find a Poſſibility for thoſe Forts between *Clyd* and *Forth* to have been made any other Time than the ſecond Summer he was in *Britain*; for, as I've ſaid, the Text is clear, that then Forts were made; Can we then imagine reaſonably, they were any where elſe but on the *Iſthmus*, where ſuch Ruins are ſtill to be ſeen? But allowing, for Argument's Sake, that they were not made that ſecond Summer, I mean thoſe between *Forth* and *Clyd*; I ſhould be glad to know at what other Time they could be perform'd? Since 'tis plain from the Text, as I've ſaid already, that the firſt Summer and Winter that *Agricola* was in *Britain*, the Scene of Action was in North *Wales* and *Angleſey*; the third at *Tay* in *Scotland*; the fourth Year there alſo. This being the State of the Thing, When were thoſe between *Glota* and *Bodotria* made, if it was not in the ſecond Summer? For it was the ſecond Winter, that the Temples, Houſes, and Places of publick Reſort were made. From all which it is apparent, I humbly conceive, that the Paſſage in *Tacitus* produc'd by Dr. *Hunter*, for proving that *Agricola* erected a *Principia* and *Armamentaria* at *Longovicus*, cannot be deem'd a Proof, it being incongruous both as to Time and Place, and the Circumſtances of Things; conſequently to produce it as a Proof, cannot as ſuch, in Reaſon, be receiv'd, and is but a torturing the Text, the Scene being plainly laid in another Part of *Britain*.

Beſides all that has been ſaid, in order to ſhew the Improbability of the *Principia* and *Armamentaria* being erected by *Agricola*, I am apt to think, the Paſſage produc'd by the Doctor for a Proof thereof, will not anſwer in another Reſpect, I mean the *Præſidia* and *Caſtella* ſpoke of as ſurrounding the *Civitates*; for all thoſe Gariſons and Caſtles, I have good Reaſon to think were only ceſpititious Works, and the *Caſtella* mention'd, only Forts like many others to be ſeen in *Britain*, exiſting in Ruins, ſurrounded with Aggers and Ramparts of common Earth thrown out of the Ditches, and not of hewn Stone. Of ſuch kinds as theſe, are all thoſe we ſee on *Hadrian*, *Severus* and *Antoninus*'s Walls, and all the *Caſtra*; the Remains of which are to be ſeen in many Places of the like Nature. For a View and Deſcription of which, the Reader is referr'd to my *Itinerary*. Of this Kind unqueſtionably were the Gariſons and Caſtles built round the *Civitates* mention'd in the ſecond Summer's March. Now that the *Roman* Camps were made ceſpititious, eſpecially in the earlier Ages of the Empire, the Reader may ſee by the Paſſage I have quoted from *Joſephus* [a], when he

[a] *See the* Itinerary, *p.* 17.

deſcribes them; but very different Works from the *Principia* and *Armamentaria*, which were regular Stone Buildings. Now all the *Roman Caſtella* and Forts that I diſcover'd between *Clyd* and *Forth*, appear, by their Remains, to have been made of Earth; therefore in every Reſpect they anſwer *Tacitus*'s Deſcription of thoſe erected by *Agricola* that very ſecond Summer, when our great Author ſays ſuch kinds of Forts were made.

I am appriz'd that ſome may object to what I have laſt advanc'd about the *Roman* Walls, and the Forts on them being ceſpititious, and may believe the Thing to be otherwiſe, more eſpecially as I have in my Deſcription of ſome of them, ſaid the contrary myſelf, and ſhewn the Ruins of a Stone Wall on that commonly call'd *Hadrian*'s and *Severus*'s in *England*; alſo the Foundation of a Stone Wall in that of *Antoninus* in *Scotland*, together with ſeveral of the Forts, which till this Day have ſome Courſes of hewn Stone above one another ſtill ſtanding.

In anſwer to this, I ſay, 'tis true, I have deſcrib'd thoſe Stone Works; but I never aſſerted they were originally made of that Material, by either *Hadrian*, *Severus* or *Antoninus*: On the contrary, I have in my *Itinerary* [b] plainly diſtinguiſh'd what was built in the Time of the Higher, from what was the Work of the Lower Empire; and plainly ſhewn, that the building with Stone was the Work of the Provincial *Britons* aſſiſted by a *Roman* Legion after the ſecond Legation, and not long before the coming in of the *Saxons*, and that it was ſo both in *England* and *Scotland*. From all which I infer, that, if the Gariſons and Caſtles mention'd by *Tacitus*, the ſecond Summer of his Expeditions in *Britain*, were ceſpititious Works, the Word *Conlapſa* in the Inſcription found at *Lancheſter* cannot be apply'd with any kind of Propriety to them; the *Armamentaria* and *Principia* requir'd to be made of Stone; and if of Stone, they could not be thoſe Gariſons and Caſtles mention'd by *Tacitus*, becauſe they were of Earth: That the *Principia* and *Armamentaria* were Stone Structures, appear by the Doctor's own Account of them in their Ruins; the very Inſcriptions themſelves [c], he ſays, were dug up in or near a large ſquare Structure of hewn Stone, with many other great Ruins of Stone Work; and, indeed, we cannot imagine a Tribunal for Juſtice, and Arſenals, even in the *Caſtra Stativa*, to have been of any other Material; for I heartily agree with Mr. *Gale* in his Conjecture about *Longovicus* having originally been a *Caſtra Stativa*; tho' I ſuppoſe, with him, in the latter Days of the *Romans* being in *Britain*, it was no inconſiderable Village or Town; nay, its very Name *Vicus* given it by the *Romans* themſelves, ſhew it to have been at leaſt the former.

I ſhall now conclude this Eſſay, by endeavouring to render probable what I have aſſerted ſome Pages before this; and it was this, That either the *Balneum*, the *Baſilica*, the *Principia* and *Armamentaria* were all Works of one Emperor, and none of them built by any other than the ſame *Gordian* the III[d]. Or, that if the *Principia* and *Armamentaria* were originally erected anterior to the Reign of *Gordian*, that never could, I humbly think, have been in the Time of *Julius Agricola*, but rather in the Reign of *Hadrian*. Tho' the firſt of theſe Conjectures is what I am moſt inclin'd to believe.

That all theſe Buildings juſt now mention'd were originally the Works of the ſame Emperor, ſeems to me, for the ſubſequent Reaſons, very probable: But firſt I think it neceſſary to give a right Idea of the Nature of the Buildings themſelves.,

[b] *Page* 112. [c] *See the Letter to Dr.* Liſter, Philoſ. Tranſact. N°. 266.

Baſilica,

Baſilica, according to *Faber*'s [d] Definition of ſuch Structures, is, *Ædes Publicæ ad Judicia & Negotiones porticibus & ambulatoribus magnificæ extructæ*; but refers to *Vitruvius* and *Cicero* for a farther Deſcription of them. The great Halls of the *Baſilica*, among the Ancients, had two Rows of Pillars, which, within them, made a kind of large Nave, or Opening in the Middle, and two Avenues, one on each Hand, above which were two Galleries.

As to the other Word *Principia*, when erected within a *Roman* Camp; there is no Doubt but that, as *Faber* ſays, it was the Place where the *Præfect* or General's Tent ſtood, and in which the Enſigns or *Aquilæ* were kept, and where a Tribunal for Juſtice and Counſels of War were held; moreover, in a Camp, it was likewiſe the Place where the *Prætorium* ſtood, and where the *Principes, ſeu Principales Milites* had their Quarters allotted them. At other times we muſt underſtand the Word *Principia* as the ſecond Rank of an Army in time of Battle, which cannot be underſtood of a Building; but in neither of theſe Senſes, do I think, we muſt conceive the *Principia* at *Longovicus*: For, by *Gordian* having erected a Tribunal, together with a Bathing-place, and Arſenals of hewn Stone there, we cannot well imagine, as I have ſaid, the Place in his Time leſs than a Town, at leaſt a conſiderable Village, as its Etymology ſeems to import; but I never can believe, that ſuch *Principia* or Arſenals of Stone were ever erected in occaſional Encampments, when the *Roman* Army were on the March and in Motion: But I have ſaid enough on that Head already.

Conſidering the noble Diſpoſition that the Emperor *Gordian* was in, for extending his Munificence to the Countries under Subjection to his Government, particularly by his erecting ſo many Structures of publick Emolument, I believe the *Principia* and *Armamentaria* were Edifices of his own original Building, as well as the *Baſilica* and *Balneum*, which the Inſcription poſitively aſſerts to have been rear'd up by him from the very Foundation *à ſolo inſtruxit*; as if it had happen'd, that either ſome Fault in the Foundation of the ſaid *Principia* and *Armamentaria*, or, perhaps, ſome Conflagration or Earthquake, or many Accidents unknown to us, may have occaſion'd them to fall to the Ground, when newly built, and the ſame Emperor rebuilt them; in Honour of which, his Officers caus'd the Inſcription to be carved, thereby to perpetuate the Memory of that bountiful Act. This Opinion I am the more willing to embrace, becauſe there is no Mention of the Structures falling down with old Age; for had the Inſcriptions mention'd the Words *Vetuſtate Collapſa*, then there could be no Diſpute about the Cauſe of their Downfal; but no ſuch Word is found, ſo I cannot well ſee, why the *Romans* [a People generally very circumſtantial in ſuch Matters] would have omitted the Word *Vetuſtate* in the Inſcription; nor can I help thinking that the Word *Reſtituit* ſeems, in ſome reſpect, to point out *Gordian* as the Reſtorer of that ſame Fabrick which he had originally built: But in this, as in all other conjectural Matters, I ſubmit to the ſuperior Judgment and Correction of the Learned; only I muſt add, that in peruſing the whole Series of the *Roman* Tranſactions in our Iſland, I cannot ſee any one *Æra* where to fix the Building this *Principia* and *Armamentaria* anterior to *Gordian* III. except, as I have hinted already, in that of *Hadrian*.

Julius Cæſar ſurely never penetrated ſo far within our Country as *Longovicus*; nor any of the Emperors ſucceeding him, till *Claudius* and

[d] *Vide* Faber Theſau.

his

his Lieutenants, who as their Actions were chiefly offenſive againſt the *Silures* and *Brigantes* [e], Dr. *Hunter* is certainly in the right, in thinking that neither *Aulus Plautius*, nor *Cerealis*, nor *Frontinus*, nor any other *Roman* in their Time, penetrated ſo far into this Province as *Longovicus*; and I think, from what I have already ſaid, thoſe Structures were not the Work of *Julius Agricola*. Then *Langhornius* ſhews, that immediately what *Agricola* conquer'd in *Britain*, his Succeſſors loſt. In *Nerva* and *Trajan*'s Time, no mention is made of *Britain* by any *Roman* Writer; ſo that I am come now in courſe to aſcertain what I had advanc'd; namely that, if the *Principia* and *Armamentaria* were built anterior to the Reign of *Gordian* the IIId, I cannot ſee any other in which to fix for their Erection, but in that of *Hadrian:* To illuſtrate this Conjecture, I have ſhewn in the foregoing Part of my [f] *Itinerary*, a Paſſage in *Xephilin* excerpted from *Dio*, that ſeems to corroborate that Conjecture, which ſays, that "*Hadrian* viſited the Provinces, Cities and Countries belonging to "the Empire, altering the Walls and Citadels of ſome of them, taking "Cognizance of all the Ditches, Ramparts and Fortifications as a De-"fence for the Province in fit Places." From all which Humour of doing ſo many publick and beneficial Works, we both ſee Leiſure and Spirit in *Hadrian* to have, perhaps, built the *Armamentarium* and *Principia*. Beſides, the ſame Author, as we have ſhewn [g] in another Place, relates, how *Julius Severus*, *Hadrian*'s Lieutenant, had been in *Britain*, but was ſent from thence againſt the *Jews*. I have alſo ſhewn, that *Hadrian*, while in Perſon in our Iſland, did many Things of great Emolument and Fame; as an Evidence of which, I have *Spartian*'s own Words for it; *Britanniam petiit*, ſays he, *in qua multa correxit:* Beſides, as I have ſhewn, we have other Hints from *Roman* Authors of *Hadrian* being in *Britain*, particularly that remarkable Paſſage of *Florus*, *Ego nolo Cæſar eſſe ambulare per Britannos & Scythicas pati pruinas*: And, I think, an Emperor capable to build a Wall from one Side of *Britain* to the other, may, poſſibly have erected a *Principia* and *Armamentaria* at *Longovicus*, which is not far from it: If, I ſay, we could ſuppoſe them built anterior to *Gordian*'s Reign, which is not my own Opinion; but if anterior, *Hadrian*'s Reign of all others ſeems to me to be the moſt probable. As for *Marcus Liburnius Fronto*, and *Lollius Urbicus*, Lieutenants in the Reign ſucceeding *Hadrian*, viz. that of *Antoninus Pius*, they were too much buſied in extending and recovering the *Roman* Province in *Britain*, and in building the Wall between *Clyd* and *Forth*, to have had Leiſure at all to erect the *Arſenals* and *Principia* at *Lancheſter*. But to proceed:

From neither *Roman*, nor any other Writer, as I have ſhewn in my *Itinerary* [h], have we ſcarce any Account of the *Romans* in *Britain* in the Reigns of *Antoninus Philoſophus* and *Lucius Verus*, who ſucceeded *Antoninus Pius*. There are ſome Hints about Affairs there in the Reign of the firſt of theſe two Emperors, and ſeems as if he had much Work on his Hands in his Endeavours to ſubdue the Warlike Northerly Nations, conſequently, no Time to build Structures of hewn Stone at *Longovicus*. In *Avidius Caſſius*'s Time, the next ſucceeding Reign, all *Roman* Writers are ſilent about *Britain*; tho' *Xephilin* ſhews, that the Wars increaſed in the next Reign of *Commodus*, inſomuch, that the Northerly *Britons* beyond the Wall penetrated into the conquer'd *Roman* Province, and made great Ravages and Slaughter there, and ſlew the *Roman* General, and deſtroy'd their Army; for which Reaſon they had other Works on their

[e] Phil. Tranſ. N°. 354. *p.* 703. [f] *Pag.* 47. [g] *See* Itinerar. *p.* 47 *and* 48. [h] *Pag.* 65.

Hand

Hand than that of building *Principia* and *Armamentaria* at *Lancheſter*. *Pertinax*, who ſucceeded *Commodus*, tho' he came over in Perſon into our Iſland, yet no mention is made of his doing any thing, but that he quell'd a Rebellion. In the ſucceeding Reigns of *Julianus* ſcarce is any mention made of *Britain*, nor in that of *Claudius Albinus*, nor *Niger*; and in *Severus*'s Reign the *Britons* rebell'd: ſo that that Emperor was forc'd to come over with a moſt potent Army to ſubdue them; he penetrated into the Country as far as the *Orcades*, built a Wall, and made a Peace with the Northerly Nations; ſo we cannot find in his Reign any Time or Leiſure for erecting this *Principia* and *Armamentaria*.

Caracalla his Son and Succeſſor deſerted our Iſland immediately on his Father's Death, and haſten'd to *Rome*; after which Time, as I have ſaid in my [a] *Itinerary*, "Neither *Dio*, nor *Herodian*, nor any other "*Roman* Writer, mention any thing concerning *Britain* in the ſucceeding "Reigns of *Macrinus*, *Heliogabalus*, *Alexander Severus*, *Maximinus*, and "*Gordianus*, only that *Camden* makes mention of a *Roman* Stone found "in *England* with the Name of *Nonius Philippus*, Proprætor in *Bri*-"*tain* in *Gordianus* junior's Time, being about *Anno Chriſti* 242."

From what has been ſaid in the foregoing Pages, I think, by recapitulating the Subſtance of the whole *Roman* Hiſtory in *Britain* from *Julius Cæſar*'s Time to that of *Gordian* the IIId, I have ſhewn no Reign wherein we can fix, with any Probability, the building the *Principia* and *Armamentaria* at *Longovicus*, [that of *Hadrian* excepted]: and, indeed, what a meager Account muſt we have given of the *Roman* Affairs in *Britain* in the ſame *Gordian*'s Time, were it not for the two noble Inſcriptions about which we have been treating? But allowing *Hadrian* to have erected the *Principia* and *Armamentaria* originally, which is, I own, but a Conjecture without any poſitive Authority, and not ſo probable as the Opinion I advanc'd of *Gordian* himſelf being the original Founder of all the four Structures at *Longovicus*; but I ſay, allowing him to have built them, yet from the Time of their firſt Erection, to that of their being re-edify'd by *Gordian* the IIId, reckoning from the Middle of *Hadrian*'s Reign, *Anno Chriſti* 127, the Interval is but about 115 Years, which is too ſhort a Time to imagin *Roman* Structures of Stone to have fallen down with old Age; ſo that every thing conſider'd, I cannot help thinking but that *Gordian* the IIId, as he was much in the Humour of building, did originally erect the *Principia* and *Armamentaria*, which by ſome Accident, as I have ſaid, fell to the Ground; and after it had fallen, repair'd it: This, I think, he did as much as the *Balneum* and *Baſilica*, which the Inſcription mentions, he rear'd from the very Ground.

Having now ended the Eſſay on the two Inſcriptions found at *Lancheſter*; I ſhall only add, that within the ſame Library of *Durham*, I ſaw another *Roman* Stone engraven in the beſt Taſte, and in the moſt ornamented Manner, and among the largeſt of any I ever beheld in *Britain*. All that the Inſcription imports, is, that the Monument was erected by the XXth Legion *Valens Victrix*.

There has been a Draught of it taken, I perceive, and exhibited by a Wooden Cut, in the laſt Edition of *Camden*'s *Britannia*; but ſo ſtately a Monument deſerves well to be ſhewn by a Print on Copper, and in as correct a Manner as is poſſible: For which Reaſon, when laſt at *Durham*, I drew it, and meaſur'd it as accurately as I could on the Spot: For a View of which, and its Menſuration, ſee *Fig.* III. *Plate* LXVII.

[a] *Page* 105.

SINCE the printing the foregoing Pages, I had the Honour to receive a Letter from Sir *John Clark*, Baron of the *Exchequer* in *Scotland*, ſignifying that [whereas I had ſome Weeks before acquainted him with my Deſign of publiſhing Additions and Corrections by way of Supplement to my *Itinerarium*] he had ſent me up ſome Draughts of *Roman* Antiquities found lately in *Scotland*; among which, to my extream Satisfaction, I found delineated three of the very Figures which ſeem to be thoſe mention'd by Mr. *Robe* in his Letter, that were within the Sepulchre, where the Inſcription about *Flavius Lucianus miles ſecundæ Legionis Auguſtæ* in Baſs-Relievo was found; only I think he miſtakes the Figure of a Woman in his Deſcription, believing it to be that of a Man; which is excuſable, conſidering how much the Images are defac'd, and the Relievo exceeding low by old Age, and the Brittleneſs of the Materials, *viz.* common Freeſtone. These three Baſs-Relievo's were dug up, as far as I could be inform'd by the Baron's Letter, near *Kirkentilloch*, and by the Direction of the Maſters of the Univerſity of *Glaſgow*. Now that theſe are the ſame mention'd in Mr. *Robe*'s Letter, ſeems plain, ſince he ſays therein, that the Maſters of the Univerſity of *Glaſgow* were determin'd to cauſe People to dig at the *Tumulus*, where *Flavius Lucianus*'s Inſcription was found: And as for *Kirkentilloch*, that Village is but a very little Way from *Shervy*, and from the Ground belonging to Mr. *Cathen*, where Mr. *Robe* ſays they were found, ſo that unqueſtionably they are the ſame. Some think that the Figure at Numb. I. as the Reader may ſee, Plate LXIX. is that of *Flavius Lucianus* himſelf, who, probably, they imagin, either built with his own Hands, or cauſed that Sepulchre of hewn Free-ſtones to be built for himſelf and Family: And they think it alſo probable, that the other Figures, Numb. II, and III. are done, one of them for his Wife, perhaps the leſſer one for his Daughter: But, as the ſame learned Gentleman, who tranſmitted them hither, well obſerves, 'tis ſomewhat odd, that a Legionary Soldier, as the Inſcription ſtiles him, ſhould be able to afford the Expence of a Burying-place of hewn Freeſtone; at the ſame Time to cauſe the Images of his Wife and Daughter to be engraven in Relievo on Stone: and, indeed, ſuch Expence, and Ceremony, and Pomp, in my humble Opinion, would rather ſeem becoming an Imperial Proprætor or Legate than a ſimple *Miles* or Legionary Soldier: So that what I have already hinted at in the preceding Pages, even before I ſaw thoſe Baſs-Relievo's, ſeems much more probable; namely, that this was a common Burying-place for all the *Romans* who may have dy'd, when lying contiguous thereunto on the Wall, and were defending the *Roman* Province from the Incurſions of the Northerly Nations beyond it; and that it ſerv'd for the ſame Uſe in the Time of the Lower, as well as that of the Higher Empire; which, as I have ſaid, the Inſcription of *Salmanes* and his Son evinces, for all are dedicated to the *Dii Manes*: Beſides, what ſeems to corroborate this Conjecture, is Mr. *Robe*'s Account of Pillars, and other Buildings, and Urns, and Aſhes, found there: And I agree heartily with Mr. *Robe*, when in his Letter he ſays, He *judges only a Part of this Burying-place is found*; ſo that I am perſuaded, many more Pieces of curious Antiquity, by digging and diligent ſearching, may ſtill be found there, and thereby ſhew that this was a common Burying-place for the *Romans* in thoſe Parts.

Among the other Pieces of Antiquity ſent here by the Baron, I was favour'd with three found at *Middleby*, in the Stewarty of *Annandale*; one was

was a Statue of the Goddeſs *Brigantia*; the other two, Altars dedicated to *Mercury*; but as I obtain'd Permiſſion to print a Diſſertation on them, wrote by a learned Gentleman, whom I have had the Honour to mention often here, I ſhall not pretend now to anticipate the Pleaſure which the curious Reader will have in peruſing it, only ſhall add, that it gives me no ſmall Pleaſure to perceive ſuch conſiderable *Roman* Antiquities have been found at a Place, where, till the publiſhing my *Itinerary*, never had any ſuch Station been mention'd: What regards *Middleby* and the Camp I formerly deſcrib'd to be ſeen there, together with that of *Burnſwork*, not far from it, I refer the Reader to my *Itinerarium*, p. 18. Mean time, the learned Diſſertation is as follows:

A

DISSERTATION

ON SOME

ANTIQUITIES

Found at *Middleby* in the Stewarty of *Annandale* in SCOTLAND.

"THESE three Stones were found laſt *July* in an ancient "Fortification or Camp, call'd The *Birrens*, near *Middleby* "in *Annandale*, about 13 Miles N. W. from *Carliſle*. That "which is number'd Plate LXVIII, is very remarkable, both "as to the Figure and Inſcription upon it: The Image ſeems "to have been one of that Sort which was call'd *Signum Pantheum*, repre- "ſenting the Symbols of ſeveral Gods conjointly; by her Habit, Spear, "Buckler, and Gorgon's Head on her Breaſt, ſhe bears a great Reſem- "blance of *Pallas*; by the Wings at her Back, ſhe appears to be a "Victory; the *Pileus* at her Feet denotes Liberty, as does the Globe in "her left Hand, Power and Dominion; and the Mural Crown upon her "Head, Defence and Protection at home, or the Deſtruction of the Ene- "my's Cities. The high Opinion of her extenſive Abilities was, no "doubt, the Original of ſo many Attributes conferr'd upon this Goddeſs "by her Adorers, as well as the gilding of her Statue all over, as this was "when firſt dug up, and before the Gold was ſcowred off by the "ignorant People that firſt got her into their Hands.

"The Inſcription tells us, ſhe was the Goddeſs or Nymph *Brigantia*, "a local and tutelar Deity of the *Brigantes*, as the *Dea Roma* was of "*Rome*.

" *Rome.* We have other Inſcriptions to her, as that in [a] *Selden*, DEAE " NYMPHAE BRIG.; and another in [b] *Camden*, beginning

DEAE NYMPHAE BRIG.
QUOD VOVERAT PRO
SALVTE PLAVTILLAE, &c.

" Theſe hitherto have been underſtood as if they had not expreſs'd " the proper Name of the Goddeſs, referring only to ſome unknown " Deity of the *Brigantes*, but this Inſcription gives us her Name at " length, and informs us, that the others are to be read *Deæ Nymphæ* " *Brigantiæ*, and not *Deæ Nymphæ Brigantum*, as was formerly ſup- " pos'd. The Words *Brigantiæ Signum*, or *Sacellum* [poſuit] *Amandus* " *Architectus ex Imperio Imp. I.* are ſo plain, that nothing is to be added " except as to the Letters IMP. I. of which I ſhall hereafter take " Notice.

" The reading of the ſecond I take to be

Deo Mercurio
*Iulius * Certus,*
Cenſor Sigillor-
um Collegii Lign-
iferorum Cultorum
Eius de ſuo dedit. &c.

* [Cerratus, Cerealis, *or ſome ſuch Name.*

" There are two Expreſſions here that are very obſcure; the firſt is " CENSOR SIGILLORVM: What that Office ſhould be, except to " examine, approve, or reject ſuch Images as this College erected to " their Gods and Benefactors, I cannot deviſe? Neither is it improbable " that this College ſhould have ſuch an Officer or Officers among them, " ſince we find in *Gruter's Corp. Inſcript.* [c] a Marble, recording an " Aſſembly of ſeveral Perſons, perhaps *Cenſores Sigillorum*, conven'd " at the Requeſt of one *Gaius Pudens*, to approve of a Form of an In- " ſcription for a Statue which a College of *Dendrophori* had determin'd " to erect in common to *Octavius Agathas*, ſo curious were they in this " Point.

C. DOMITIO. DEXTRO. II. L. VALERIO
MESSALA. THRASEA. PRISCO. COS.
VI IDVS. IANVAR.
IN CVRIA BASILICAE. AVG. ANNIAN
SCRIBVNDO. ADFVERVNT. A. AQVILIVS
PROCVLVS. M. CAECILIVS. PVBLICIVS
FABIANVS. T. HORDEONIVS. SECVND.
VALENTINVS. T. CAESIVS. BASSIANVS
QVOD. POSTVLANTE. CN. GAIO. PVDENTI
O. V. DE FORMA. INSCRIPTION. DAN.
DA. STATVAE. QVAM. DENDROPHOR.
OCTAVIO. AGATHAE. P. C. N. STATVE
RVNT. .CN. PAPIRIVS. SAGITTA. ET. P.
AELIVS. EVDAEMON. II. VIR. RETTV
LERVNT. Q. D. E. R. F. P. D. E. R. I. C
PLACVIT. VNIVERSIS. HONESTISSIM
CORPORIS DENDROPHORORVM. IN
SCRIPTIONEM. QVAE. AD. HONOREM
- - - - - - - - - - - DARET. QVAE
- - - - - - - - - - - SERTA. EST.

" Every body knows *Sigilla* were properly ſmall Statues, ſuch as were " the Penates and domeſtic Deities; but *Cenſor Sigillorum* has never " been found before the Diſcovery of this Altar. The other Difficulty

[a] In Marm. Arundel. [b] Camd. Edit. Lond. 1695. *p.* 836. [c] Grut. *p.* ccccxliv. 2.

" lies

" lies in the Letters COLLIG. Theſe I would read *Collegii Lignife-*
" *rorum*, intirely alſo new; but the *Collegia Dendrophororum* are no
" Rarites in Inſcriptions; and what are the *Dendrophori* in *Latin* but
" *Ligniferi?* The Office and Profeſſion of the *Dendrophori* have been
" much diſputed; ſome will have them to be a Military Body; others, a
" Religious Society: perhaps there were of both Sorts, but thoſe we moſt
" frequently meet with were undoubtedly of the latter, and different
" Gods ſeem to have had their different *Dendrophori*, to carry Trees
" or Boughs before them in their Proceſſions, and, perhaps, as the
" Military *Dendrophori* did for the Army, to take Care of and provide
" Wood for their Sacrifices, as *Bacchus*, *Sylvanus*, *Mithras*, *Magna Mater*
" and *Mercury* by theſe two Inſcriptions, where theſe *Ligniferi* appro-
" priate themſelves peculiarly to him, by ſtiling themſelves *Cultores eius*,
" and *Collegium Ligniferorum eiuſdem Dei.*

" As the foregoing Stone was an Altar to *Mercury*, ſo the third has
" been a Pedeſtal to his Statue; as the Letters SIG. POSVERVNT,
" *Signum poſuerunt* demonſtrate: The Whole is to be read, in my Opi-
" nion, as follows; *Numini Auguſti Deo Mercurio Signum poſuerunt Cul-*
" *tores Collegium Ligniferorum Ejuſdem Dei, curante Ingenuo Rufo*
" *V.S.L.M.*

" It is to be hop'd that the Statue of the God will be recover'd in a
" little Time; the learned and curious Gentleman, that is already poſ-
" ſeſs'd of theſe three Stones, having given Orders to ſearch the Ground
" for it where theſe were interr'd. He has obſerv'd from [d] *Ammianus*
" *Marcellinus*, that *Mercury* was the Favourite God of *Julian* the Apo-
" ſtate, and that even when he profeſs'd Chriſtianity, *Occultè Mercurio*
" *ſupplicabat, quem Mundi Velociorem ſenſum eſſe motum mentium ſuſci-*
" *tantem Theologicæ prodidere doctrinæ.* And in this Inſcription he is
" ſtyled *Numen Auguſti.*

" It is not in the leaſt unlikely, that when *Julian* came to be Maſter
" of himſelf and the Empire, and apoſtatized from the Chriſtian Faith, he
" ſhould encourage the *Pagan* Religion in this Iſland as well as other
" Countries, and to that End re-eſtabliſh this College of the *Dendrophori*
" or *Ligniferi*; and they, to oblige the Emperor, ſet up this Image of his
" darling *Mercury*; as *Julius Certus*, who bore an Office among them, by
" which he had the Inſpection and Approbation, perhaps, of this very
" Image, did the Altar to him: And why might not the Emperor, to
" pleaſe the Province of the *Brigantes*, give Command to *Amandus*, his
" chief Architect in thoſe Parts, to erect this ſtately Image, or a *Sacellum*
" to their ador'd *Brigantia?* If ſo, the laſt Letters under her may, with-
" out Force, be conſtrued IMP.—— I. *Ex Imperio Imperatoris Juliani.*

[d] Am. Marcel. *Lib.* 16. *cap.* 5.

EMENDATIONS *and* CORRECTIONS *of the* Itinerarium Septentrionale.

PAGE 20, Line 26, where *Antoninus* made his Wall; read, *where Antoninus afterwards made his Wall.*

Page 28, line 20, for *Gleneg*, read *Glenelg.*

Page 29, line 34, for the Letters I. A. M. P. M. P. T. after *Julius Agricola Magnæ Pietatis Monumentum poſuit Templum*, add, *ſome will not admit*

admit this Reading, as not being after the Roman *Usage; but will have those initial Letters to be read,* Jovi, Apolloni, Plutoni, Marti, Mercurio, posuit Templum. *But this my Reader*, &c.

Page 40, line 27, after *Rochel Waters*, add, *Rhos*; by some is explain'd *Planities Irrigua* *.

Page 41, line 14, *Amonius Damionis*; add, *Centurio Cohortis*, &c.

Page 45, line 48, for *Crostorpitum*, read *Crostopitum*.

Page 49, line 17; but I find that *Antoninus*'s Army; add, *but I find a Part, if not the Whole of* Antoninus's *Army*.

Page 49, line 29, in the Inscription; *Pro Salute Imperatoris Cæsaris, Titi. Ælii Hadriani Antonini Augusti Pii Patri Patriæ*, for *& Legionis Vicesimæ Valentis Victricis*, read *& Legionis Secundæ Augustæ*, &c.

Page 51, line 16, instead of the *Vexillarii*, or Ensigns of the twentieth Legion *Valens Victrix*, read *a* Vexillatio, *or a Detachment from the twentieth Legion* Valens Victrix.

Page 52, line 42, for *Sexcentas Sexagenta Sex*, read *Sexcenta Sexaginta Sex*.

Page 55, line 18, for the *Vexillarii* of an unknown Legion, read *that a Detachment of an unknown Legion*.

Page 61, line 47, for that the Ensigns of the twentieth Legion *Valens Victrix*, read *a Detachment of the twentieth Legion* Valens Victrix.

Page 62, line 35, for *Legio Quinta Germanorum*, read *Vexillatio Quinta Cugernorum*. In the same Page, dele, which if it can bear the reading, *Legio Germanorum*, and add, *and seems to import that a Detachment of the fifth Cohort or Legion of the* Cugerni *dedicated*, &c.

Page 62, line 47, that the sixth Legion *Victrix*, add, *that a Detachment of the sixth Legion*, &c.

Page 64, line 8, for the principal Legions employ'd in making this Wall, were——, read *the principal Legion employ'd in making this Wall, was the second Legion* Augusta; and add, *the twentieth Legion* Valens Victrix; *and the sixth Legion* Victrix *sent only Detachments to build it*.

Page 75, line 42, for *Miles* read *Militum*.

Page 76, line 14, for *Miles*, read *Militum*.

Page 84, line 3, for *Pancirolus*, read *the Notitia Imperii*.

Page 94, line 8, for *Ralticus*, read *Raeticus*.

Page 95, line 6, after I shall therefore leave it to the Judgment of Antiquaries, add, *the learned and most judicious* Roger Gale, *Esq; reads it thus*, Imperatori Aelio *Hadriano* Legio Secunda, Aulo Platori Legato, *&c.*

Page 96, line 9, for *Salvator*, read *Salinator*.

Page 97, line 22, after *Hadrian* and *Severus*, add, *who built the Walls*.

Page 106, line 34, for *Lolianus*, read *Lælianus*.

Page 107, line 41, for *Magentius*, read *Magnentius*.

Page 116, line 21, for *Honius*, read *Honustus*.

Page 116, line 48, for *Jovi Votivo Sacrum*, read *Jovi Victori Sacrum*.

* *Vide* Davies's *Welsh Dictionary*; & Mona. Antiq. restit. p. 26.

N. B. I intreat the Reader would pardon my Error, when in any Part of my *Itinerary* I have call'd the Word *Vexillatio* any thing else but *Detachment*.

F I N I S.

Pl: LXVI

Fig: I

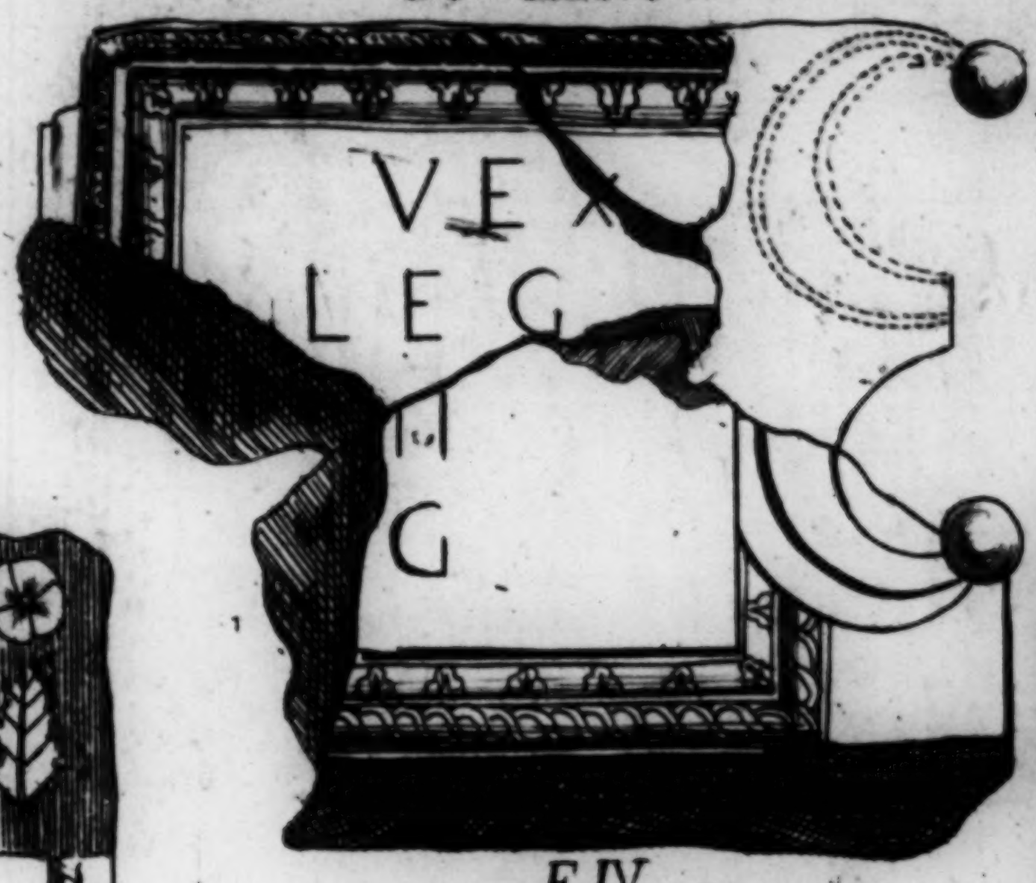


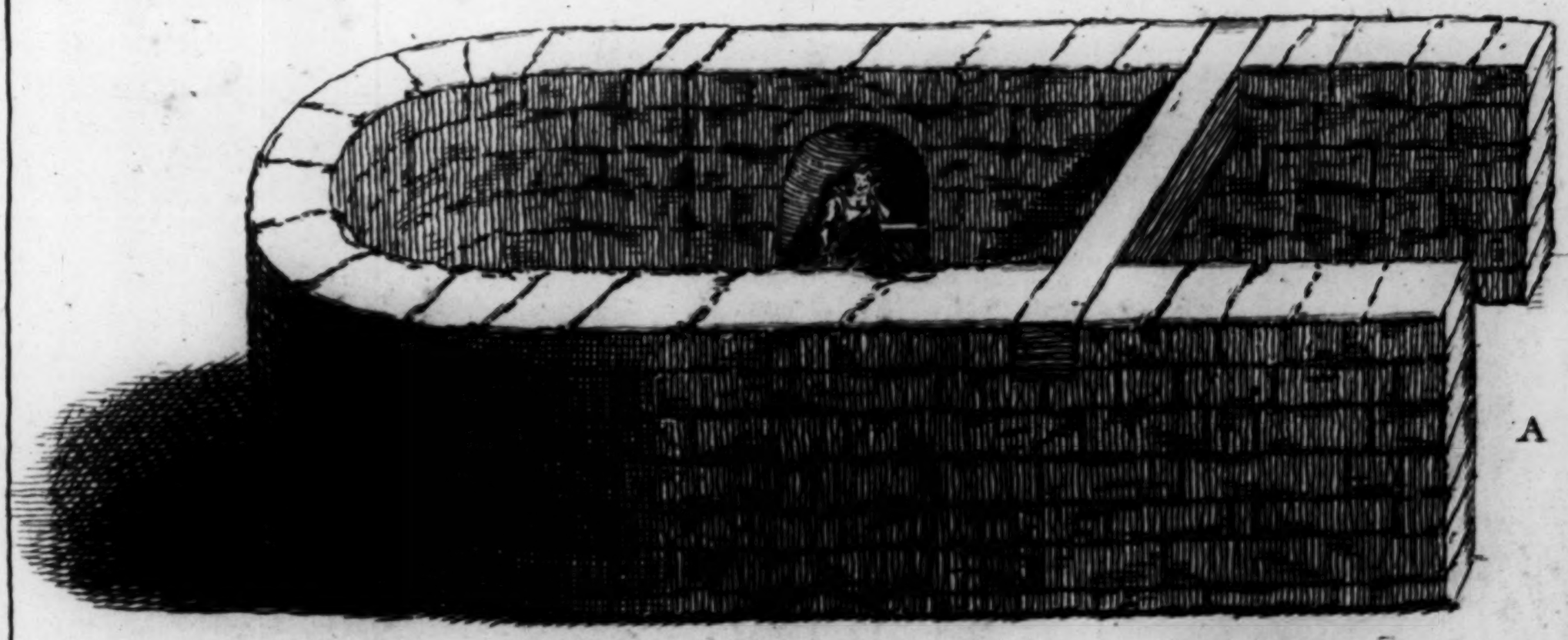
Fig II

Fig III

Fig VI

F IV

Fig. V



A

A. *The Roman Sepulchre found near* Shervy *on* Antoninus's Wall *in Scotland.*

1 2 3 4

A Scale of Feet for the Inscriptions.

Fig II

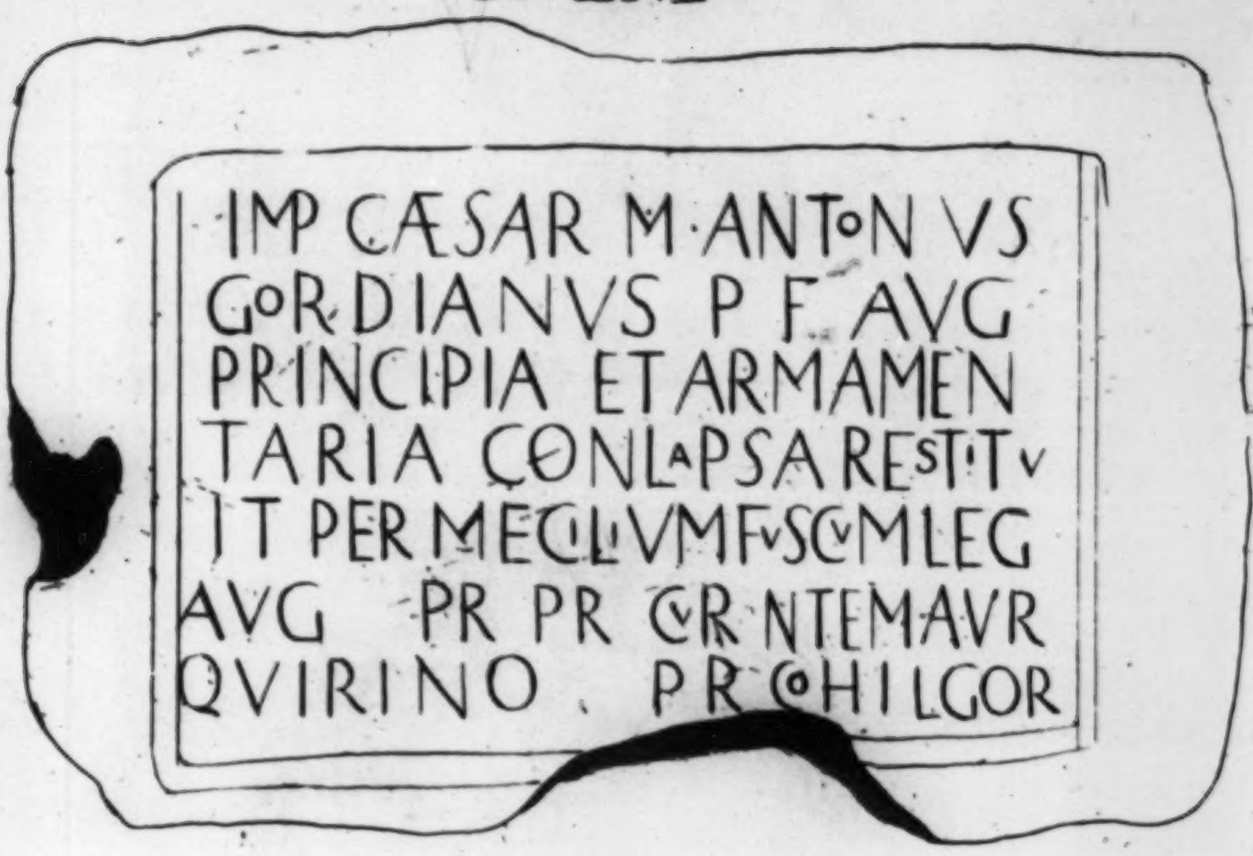


Fig I

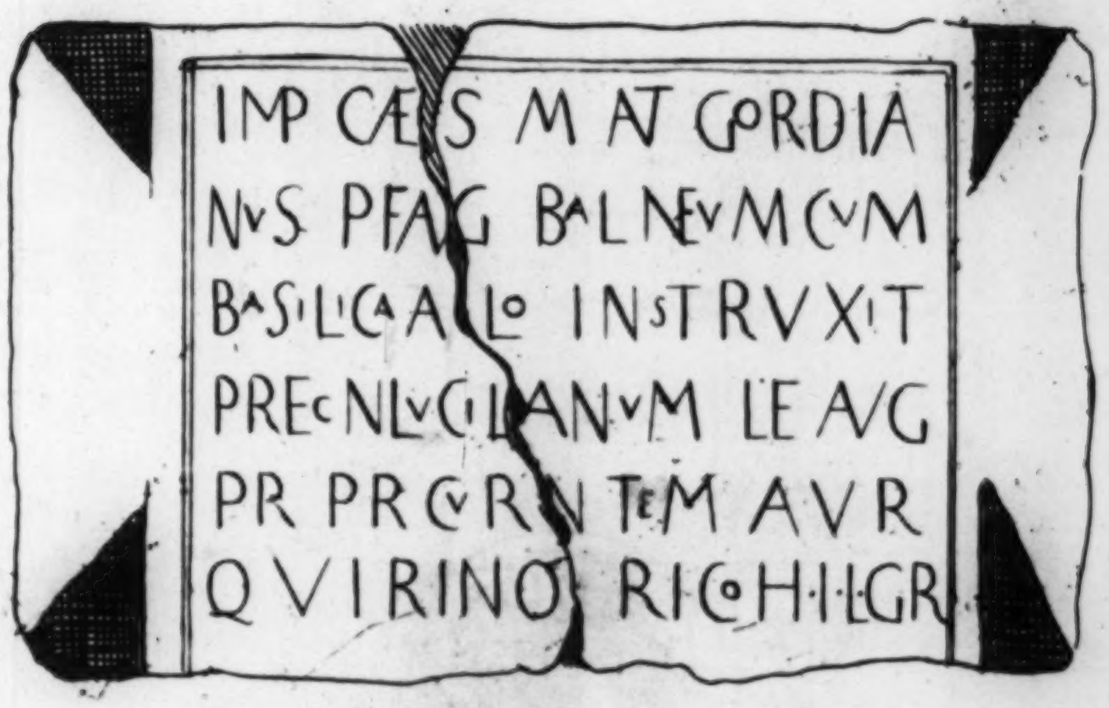


Fig III

Scale of Feet & Inches

Fig I

Fig II

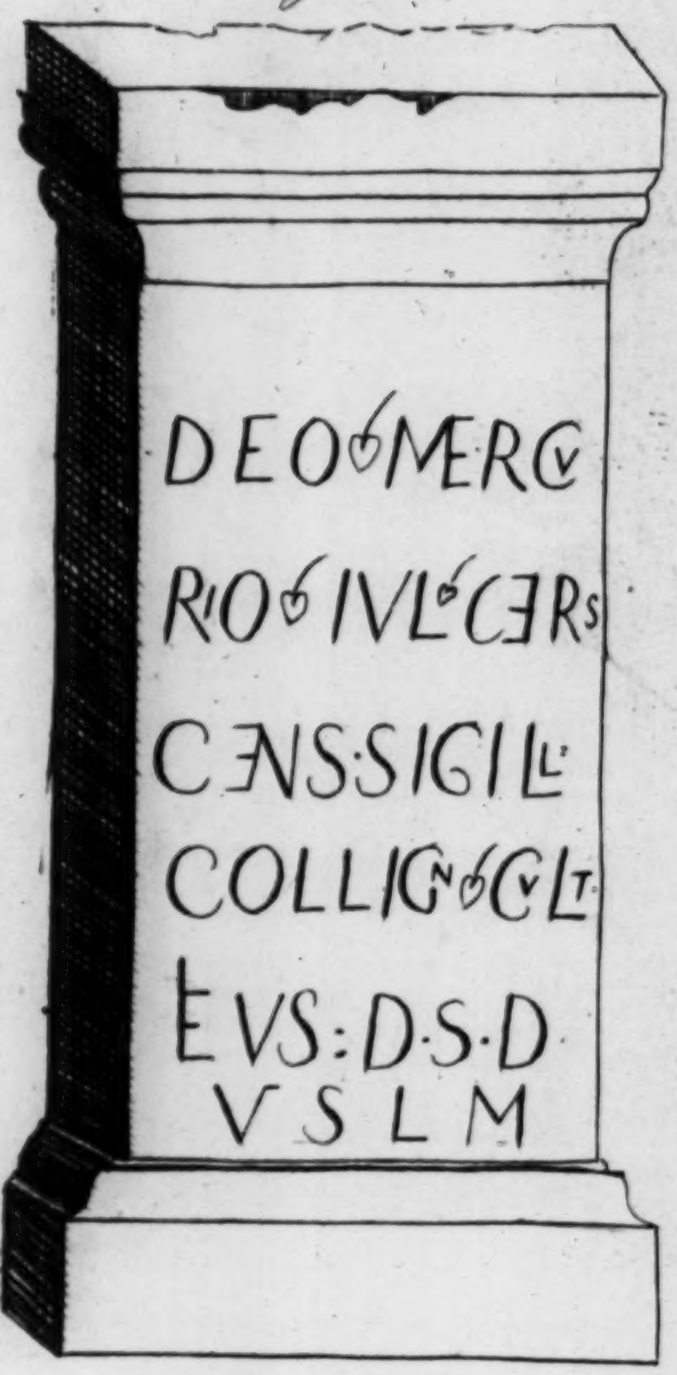
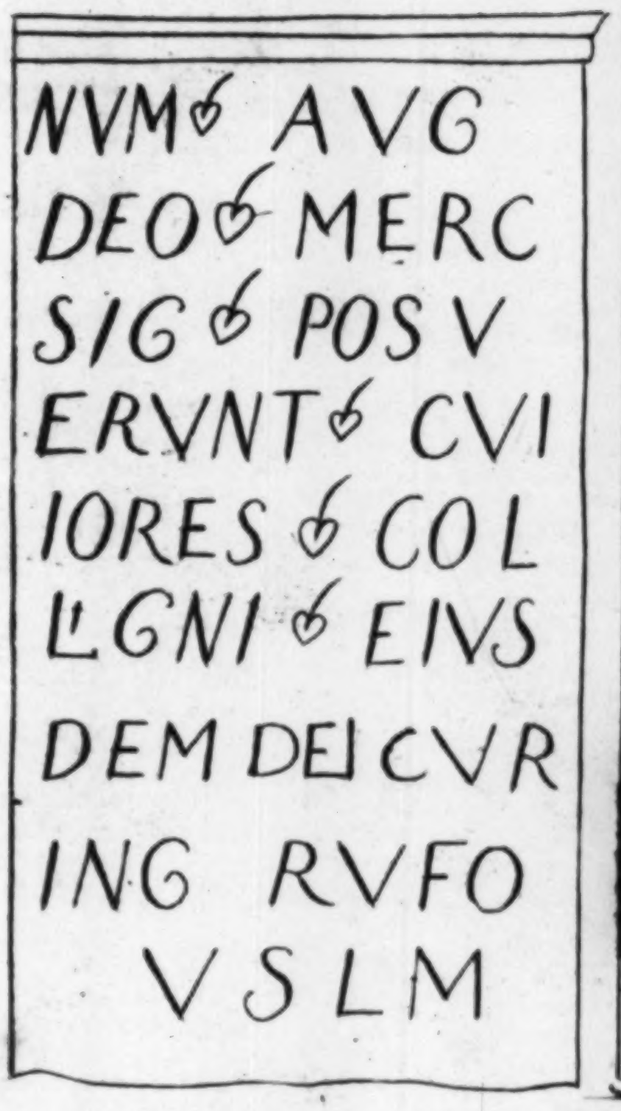


Fig III



A·B·C·Figures on the Sides of the Altar

Fig III

Fig- I